Joseph Shaw

1429/c

Miss. Emma Shaw—

April 1843—

58 Long. West from London.

Chiefly Cotton

Some part of this is cultivated Coffee

Adappa Creek

River Pomeroon

Moroco Post

Moroco R.

Ikoni Creek

Savanna

Soeyhie Creek

Savanna

Horly Byke Creek

Ancient Post

Ruins of New Middlebury

Old Fort Zealand destroyed by the English in 1666.

G U Y A N A

MOUTH of the RIVER ESSEQUEBO

Fort William Frederick

Demerary Bar

Little Esquiwan

Esquiwan L.

Wakenhaam L.

Hog I.

R. Supinaam

Boundary of Essequebo & Demerary

Bonnesinne Cr.

Mibirre Creek

Warratilla Creek

Sand Hills

Savanna

Camoeny C.

Diamond Point

Brick Ground

STABROEK

Cummingsburg

Kingston

Laboucade

Werken Rust

Canal

Projected Canal

Ferry

Mahaica Village

Negro Path

Savanna

Mahaica Creek

Abary Creek

Ferry

Gov.t Land

Boundary line of the Colonies of Berbice and Demerary

Savanna

Savanna

Cataract

RIVER DEMERARY

Sand Hills

Path of the Arrowauks

Scud River

Savanna

7 Fs. Bar High Water

Canal

Projected Canal

New Amsterdam

RIVER BERBICE

Eastern Boundary of Surinam, to Berbice, which extends S by W. from the Mouth of the Berbice R.

Projected Canal

Canal

RIVER CANJE

Great Savanna

Brandwagt

Canal

Fort Nassau

Post Way

Savanna

Post

Church

RIVER COURANTIN

N A

Savanna

RIVER CAYONNY

RIVER MAZARONY

RIVER ESSEQUEBO

9000 Verges each containing 12 Rhineland Feet

500 1000 2000 3000 4000 5000 6000 7000 8000

Geographical Miles 60 to a Degree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

58

Map of the Rivers ESSEQUEBO, DEMERARY, BERBICE, &c. &c.

London Published, May 16, 1807, by R. Phillips, New Bridge Street.

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A VOYAGE

TO THE

DEMERARY,

CONTAINING A

STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF THE SETTLEMENTS THERE,

AND OF THOSE ON

THE ESSEQUEBO, THE BERBICE,

AND OTHER CONTIGUOUS RIVERS OF

GUYANA.

BY HENRY BOLINGBROKE, ESQ.

OF NORWICH,

DEPUTY VENDUE MASTER AT SURINAM.

LONDON,

PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS, No. 6, BRIDGE-STREET.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM WINDHAM,

OF FELBRIGG IN NORFOLK,

HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIAL DEPARTMENT,

AS A TRIBUTE,

NO LESS OF PERSONAL GRATITUDE,

THAN OF UNIFORM ADMIRATION FOR HIS PUBLIC CONDUCT,

WHICH,

IN THE DETAILS OF ADMINISTRATIVE APPOINTMENT,

IN THE LIBERAL RELAXATION OF MONOPOLOUS RESTRICTIONS,

AND IN RESISTING THE ABOLITION OF A LIBERTY, ESSENTIAL AT NEW SETTLEMENTS, OF IMPORTING ADDITIONAL LABOURERS,

HAS BEEN ALIKE CONDUCIVE

TO THE PROSPERITY OF THE COLONIES,

THIS WORK IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS OBLIGED AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

HENRY BOLINGBROKE.

NORWICH, 31 *JANUARY*, 1807.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN of this work, page 1—Emigration meritorious, 2—Sea-sickness, how moderated, 3—Cork adapted to be the store-house of West-Indian produce for Europe, 5—Madeira grape cultivable in the British West-Indies, 6—Coast of Guyana descried, 8—Mouth of the Courantine, 9—Mouth of the Berbice, 11—Mouth of the Demerary, 12—Precautions requisite for a passenger to the West-Indies, 14—Ruinous effect of the climate on British-built shipping, 16—Navigation act criticised, 17.

CHAPTER II.

Landing at Stabroek, 24—First impression of the town, 25—Of the household manners, 27—Water-carriage, 28—River Demerary, 29—Allotments on its banks, 30—Police of the bridges, canals, and punts, 31—Flatness of the land, 32—Diamond-point, 32—Reynestein, 33—Hospitality and hammock-sleeping, 34—Fort-island, 35—Sand-hills and springs, 36—Dutch planters, 37—Treatment of negroes, 38—Rapids of the Demerary, 39.

CHAPTER III.

Description of Stabroek, its wharfs, or stellings, 40—Want of inns, 41—State of the drama, 42—General use of concubines, 43—Superior beauty of the mestees, 44—Apartments scrubbed with lemons, 46—General habit of smoaking segars, 47—Pepper-pot and other soups used at breakfast, 48—Humility of

Dutch servants and negroes, 48—Splendor of Dutch households, 49—Variety of inhabitants, 50—Hucksters, 51—Butchers, 52—Fishers, 53—Public worship alternately Dutch and English, 54—Lazaretto, 55—Shingles, 55—House-rent, 56—Price of labor, 57—Cost of building, 57—Law-charges, 58—Public negroes, or galley-slaves, 59—Hospital at Labourgade, 60—Benevolent rate, or *kirk en arm geld*, 61—Superfluity of glass bottles, 63—Barbadoes packet-boat, 63—Macaronic advertisements in the Essequebo gazette, 64—Public buildings, 65—Fees of office, 66—Necessity of attaching an English recorder to the Dutch fiscal, as assessor, 66—Vast influence of the fiscal, 67—Law against the private importation of colonists, 67—Ridiculous anecdote, 68—Exploiteur, 68—Custom-house, 69—Vendue-master, 70—Paper money, 70—Par of exchange, 71—State of public defence, 72—Funerals, 73.

CHAPTER IV.

Keizers, a representative authority, how elected, 75—Courts of justice, 76—Ecclesiastic courts, 77—Orphan Chamber, 78—Salaries of office, 79—Custom-house returns, 80—Kingston, or Eveleary, described, 81—Labourgade, 82—Cumingsburg, 83—Artificers, 84—Bridge-town and New-town, 85—Werken-rust, 86—Morning twilight longer than evening twilight, 87—Climate, 88—*Coup-de-soleil*, 89—Mahaica, 90—Seasoning, 91—Yaws, 92—Jiggers, 93—Ring-worm, 94.

CHAPTER V.

Reynestein, 95—Police of a plantation, 96—Honesty of the negroes, 96—Farming-stock, 97—Oxen and mules, 98—Water-carriage of the sugar-canes, 99—Method of manufacture, 100—Distillation of Rum, 101—Negro right of settlement, 102—Creole children, 103—Preference given to white masters, 104—Acquaintance of Mungo Park, 105—Punishment by torture, 106—Noble conduct of Colonel Heslop, 107—Gentler modes of treatment, 108—Reform of criminal legislation recommended, 109—Story of Quamin, 110—Negro va-

nity, 111—Emancipation rarely coveted, 112—Surgeons paid by the head, 113—Rashness of Europeans in legislating for the West-Indies, 115—Anecdote of an African prince, 116—Negro-slavery in Africa, 117—Redemption of slaves, 118—Slave-carrying-trade bill applauded, 119—White-slave-trade, 120—Use of removal, 121—Cause of the selling value of slaves, 122—Claim of maintenance, 123—Use of sales by auction, 124—Moment when vassalage begins, 125—Cause of vassalage, 126—Increase of negro population, 127—Necessity of negro labourers, 128—Relative mortality, 129—Abolition of the trade in free negroes alone justifiable, 130.

CHAPTER VI.

Borasierri, 131—Leguan, 132—Fort-island, 133—Supinama, 134—First settlement of Essequebo, in 1698, 135—Amicable tribunal, 136—Taret, or water-worm, 137—Usefulness of the Caribbees, 138—Hammock, derivation of, 139—Distilleries most expedient in new countries, 140—Lowlands first cultivated by the English, 142—Stabroek founded in 1774, 143.

CHAPTER VII.

Caribbees, 145—Language, 146—Manners, 147—Trade, 148—Cannibalism, 149—Worrows, 151—Accawaws, 152—Arrowauks, 153—Nicholas Hortsman, 154—Religion of the Indians, 155—Feast of the dead, 156—Polygamy, 159—Fish caught by infusing hiarra, 160—Parturition, 161.

CHAPTER VIII.

Berbice, 163—History of the colony, 164—Van Hoorn company, 165—Directory of seven, 166—Isle of Crabs, 167—New Amsterdam, 168—Tavern-bill, 170—River Canje, 172—Coffee-plantation, 174—Negro-population, 176—Decay of the West-Indian islands, 177—Barbadoes founded the prosperity of Demerary, 178.

CHAPTER IX.

Limits of Berbice, 179—Governor not an Englishman, 180—Acre-geldt, 182—Tract between the Devil's creek and the Courantine, 183—Mutiny of Dutch troops, 185—Rebels driven beyond the Canje, 188—Arrival of Indian auxiliaries, 189—Story of Weekee, 190—Surrender of the mutineers, 192.

CHAPTER X.

Insurrection of slaves in 1763, 193—Fort Nassau blown up, 194—Cruel punishment of the insurgents, 195—Aversion of the red men against the black, 195—Gratitude of an Indian, 196—Abary, 196—Mahaica, 197—Nocturnal pastime, 198—Mahaicony, 199—Earthquake, theory of, 200—Lime brought from Europe, 201—Arabische coast, 202—Ruins at the fort of Harlipyak, 202—Pomaroon, 203—Plaintain, 204—Maize, 204—Cotton, 205—Negroes let their labor on Sundays, 206—Kapoya creek, 207—Bamboo wanted, 207—Exploiteurs not numerous enough, 208.

CHAPTER XI.

Excessive rage for making sugar-estates, 209—Seasoned negroes, 210—Short apprenticeships sufficient among negroes, 211—Fears of imported lads, 212—Story of Jem, 213—Task-gangs, 215—Timber-trade, 216—History and description of a Dutch settler, 218—Miss Quasheba Vos, 219—General tendency of remote settlers, 222—Guyana adapted for the natives of lower Germany, 223—Success of Mr. Vos, 223—Emigration recommended to young British farmers, 224.

CHAPTER XII.

Animals, 225—Deer, called wirrebocerra and bajeer, 226—Hogs, called picaree and warree, 227—Pucarara, 228—Armadillo, 229—Quato, 230—Sac-cawinkee, 231—Ai, 232—Laubba, 233—Alligator, 233—Manati, 234—

Guana, 235—Pipa, 236—Lowlow, 237—Queriman, 238—Frog-fish, 239—Sun-bird, 240—Mackaw, 241—Acushe, 242—Canicani, 243—Powese, 244—Marrodee, 245—Kishee-kishee, 246—Humming-bird, 247—Caroche, 248—Fire-fly, 249—Groe-groe, 250—Chigo, 251.

CHAPTER XIII.

Cabbage-tree, 252—Silk-cotton-tree, 253—Pipeira, 254—Iron-wood, 255—Mangrove, 256—Bourra courra, 257—Hiarra, 258—Cocoa-tree, 259—Ricinus, 260—Guava, 261—Curetta, 263—Ginger, 64—Cassava, 265—Nibbees, 266—Troolies, 267.

CHAPTER XIV.

Capture of Demerary, 299—Public papers of Abercromby, 270—Of Whyte, 272—Of Parr, 274—Of Beaujon, 275—Of Meertens, 276—Origin of the enterprise, 277—Consequent rise of property, 278—Confiscation of a regiment of slaves, 279—Burgher-watch, 281—Villa of Anthony Meertens, called Rome, 283—Accommodating spirit of the fiscal, 284—Arbitrary character of Lamaison, 285—Inconvenient ascendancy of the French party after the peace of Amiens, 286—Dutch barracks furnished by an English merchant, 290—Unwholesomeness of new rum, 292—Pestilence among the Dutch soldiery, 294—Smuggling, 296.

CHAPTER XV.

The English enterprizes permanently beneficial, 300—Carrabanna district, 301—Mahaicony, 302—Lot of land exchanged for a turkey, 303—Megass, 304—Bush negroes, 306—Anecdotes of a negro named Gentleman, 307—Barbarity of warfare, 309—Lands on the Pomaroon granted to the rifle-corps, 310—Victor Hugues' proclamation to encourage a revolt of slaves, 312—Cayenne, 313—History of its settlement, 315—Its productions, 317—Caravan to the interior, 318—Desert state of the coast, 319—Deficient ambition of for-

mer ministers, 321—Botanic garden of Cayenne a most useful establishment, 321—French West-Indians not hostile to the English, 322—Emancipation of the negroes unpopular in Dutch America, 323—Surrender by connivance, 324—Benefits of British conquest, 326—Mischievous versatility of government in giving up these conquests at the peace of Amiens, 327—Large capital thereby sunk, 327.

CHAPTER XVI.

Mode of advance to planters, 330—Re-establishment of the mercantile connection with Holland, 331—Subsequent discredit, 332—Damages on returned Bills, 334—Patience of the blacks during famine, 336—Inhumanity punished, 337—Paramaribo, 338—Religious liberties of the Dutch, 340—Moravians, 341—Original settlers, 343—Kraals of maroon negroes, 344—Their successive chiefs, 344—Colonial paper-money, 345—Coast on fire, 345—Cottica rebellion, 346.

CHAPTER XVII.

Ralegh's discovery of Guyana, 347—Of Cairi, or Trinidad, 349—River Oia, or Oyapoco, 353—River Barema, (*q.* Berbice?) 354—River Pawroma, or Pomaroon, 354—River Essequebo, 354—River Red-cross, (*q.* Demerary?) 356—Orinoko, 357—Amana, 358—Arraroopana, 361—Caroli, 363.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Guyana in general, 366—Mountains of Mei, 367—Lake of Parima, 367—Climate, 368—Caribbee islands overvalued, 369—Religion of the people of Guyana, 371—Tolerance praised, 372—Importance of occupying Cayenne, 373—Civilization proportioned to the density of populousness, 374—Fairs and public sports for the Indians ought to be instituted, 375—Utility of extensive empire, 376—Negotiation with Portugal suggested, 377—Navigation of the Maranyo, 378—Importance of unrestricted commerce, 379—General Miranda

could have added to British Guyana the western bank of the Orinoko, 380—Bocas of the Orinoko a vomitory of privateers, 381—British conquest better than independence, 382—Conspiracy of the Protestants in Grenada, 383—Religious character of the Spaniards, 383—Value of the banks of the Orinoko, 384—Civil character of the Spaniards, 385—Importance of a splendid governorship, 387—Recorders desirable in the municipal constitutions, 389—Custom-house regulations in England inconvenient and oppressive, 392—Scientific survey recommended, 394—Chinese labourers desirable, 395.

APPENDIX.

Ships cleared from Essequebo and Demerary from 1745 to 1785, 397—Sale of a slave-cargo, 398—Slave-ships imported from 1745 to 1785, 398—Specimen of Negro-English, 400.

POSTSCRIPT.

Mr. HENRY BOLINGBROKE was occupied, during the summer of 1806, *in preparing this book for the press, and gave his manuscript to the printers before the close of that year. In consequence of his accepting the office of Deputy Vendue Master of Surinam, he quitted Norwich in February* 1807, *at which period, only about twenty-four sheets had been printed off. The rest of the work has not merely been delayed, but has somewhat suffered from his absence; as it was not possible for those, who undertook to superintend the remainder of the impression, to supply with the exactness of local knowlege, every little chasm of narrative or expression. The following are the more important*

ERRORS OF THE PRESS.

Page	5	line 9 after *passport* read *and a lantern.*
	18	4 for *well* read *ill.*
	69	8 after *pay* read *on their inward and outward bound cargo,* 2½ *per cent.*
	71	20 for *the same* read *some.*
	100	7 for *molasses* read *melasses.*
	368	20 after *a drought* read *being mentioned except the remarkable one of* 1803–4.

STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF THE SETTLEMENTS ON THE DEMERARY, &c.

CHAPTER I.

PREFACE—EMIGRATION MERITORIOUS—EMBARKATION AT LIVERPOOL—COVE OF CORK—PASS MADEIRA AND TENERIFFE—PROPOSAL TO CULTIVATE THE MADEIRA GRAPE AT TRINIDAD—FIRST VIEW OF THE COAST OF SOUTH AMERIÇA OFF THE MOUTH OF THE COURANTINE—ANCHORAGE IN THE RIVER DEMERARY—PROVISIONS TO BE MADE FOR A WEST INDIA VOYAGE—CENSURE OF THE NAVIGATION ACT.

THIS Sketch of the Settlements on the Berbice, the Demerary, the Essequebo, and the Pomaroon, is in great part copied from successive letters written by the author to his family, in the course of a seven years residence at Stabroek, without any view to publication. He therefore hopes the reader will be content with a plain statement of what he has seen and thought.

The original epistolary form has been dropped, and so much of arrangement aimed at, as was necessary to prevent repetition; but the connection of the topics is not very methodical, and facts oftener occur in the order in which they were acquired, than in which they might best have been grouped.

Emolument is not the inducement for attempting this statistical account: but a wish of displaying the importance of the settlements now possessed by the British along the northern coast of South America. They are undervalued; and were abandoned at the peace of Amiens with a levity, which lowered the character of our statesmen for information. If this endeavour to make the district more known should succeed, the author's end is reached. It will be a sufficient gratification for him to have had it in his power to disclose a new field, where British industry and perseverance are so likely to reap an early reward, and so able to found an immeasurable empire.

Emigration ought to be classed among the merits of a citizen. The little void an absentee leaves is presently filled. By withdrawing from the competition for employment at home, he favours an increase in the recompense of industry. Whether he fails, and dies abroad; or thrives, and returns with a fortune; he has helped to keep in motion the great wheel of commercial circulation. He, who quits his country,

does not forsake it; he only chooses a different post of activity in its behalf. He assists in extending to a distance the imitation of its manners, the consumption of its handiwork, the advantage of its intercourse, the popularity of its literature and law.

Not that I pretend to have been governed by any such sublime moral motives, when I determined to seek my fortune on a transatlantic shore. Accident determined my destiny. The partner of a house in Stabroek, who was at London in 1798, wished to engage an articled clerk on terms which my friends thought liberal. Fancy and ambition painted, at the termination of a West-Indian voyage, new forms of pleasure and of gain; and I embarked with delight on board the Comet, Captain Barrow, at Liverpool, on the 25th December, 1798.

For many days after we left the Mersey I was much troubled by sea-sickness. This is a phenomenon which no medical man I ever met with, could satisfactorily explain, and the only advantage I have derived from conversation on the subject, was to collect a few facts. Sea-sickness is most likely to occur, if you stand still upon the deck and watch the motion of the sea. If the eyes be closed, so that the dancing of surrounding objects cannot be perceived, you are less liable to be sick. If you lie in the horizontal posture, the rocking of the ship is almost imperceptible; hence the most effectual way of avoiding sea-sick-

ness, is to lie down on your bed. By these means I have often passed in a few minutes from the most dreadful nausea to a state of perfect ease, and could eat, talk, and read, as well as if I were on shore. This, however, is only an escape from sickness, for as soon as I came upon deck again, I found I was as much affected by the motion of the ship, as at first. The only way to conquer it, is to brave it. Strong exercise is good, such as walking the deck. You are then not so sensible to the motion of the ship. The eyes and the feet are no longer watchful to the slightest movement of objects. Stimulent mental occupation is good, such as mirthful conversation, which fills the mind with amusing ideas, and excludes those strange sensations which seem to be the chief cause of the malady. Various means of inferior importance may be mentioned to diminish the effect of the motion of the vessel. To go on board after a light simple meal; to live temperately, and to eat a little food at short intervals, rather than more at longer. Strong drinks taken into the stomach are good, if they do not produce intoxication. A single glass of brandy is often useful, but enough to produce drunkenness would obviously be hurtful. Pure water should never be used, but ought to be mixed with a little wine or lemon juice. When the stomach is sufficiently strong, a glass of spirituous bitters will increase the appetite and relieve the remaining sickness.

We touched at Cork, and lay in the Cove to await convoy: there we took on board live stock and sea stores. This port promises to become important. If it were made a free port; if goods could be landed within a certain ring of wall, or other inclosure, and warehoused without paying any duty, or giving any bond to the custom-house; the produce always deposited there for the various inlets of the European market would be very considerable. What West-Indian cargoes are carried forwards to Liverpool can no longer be destined to the Mediterranean, to France, to London, without having incurred a needless expence.

We left Cork on the 4th January, 1799, having several horses on board, which were very troublesome. The laws that prohibit carrying out our best breeds of cattle render necessary a costly and inconvenient exportation of single animals, which might be bred in our continental colonies at less cost. The object of Great Britain ought not to be the furnishing of her colonies with what can more cheaply be produced there; but the raising of a large population, whose demand would busy her stationary manufactories.

There is almost always a north wind off the coast of Portugal: I do not know why: but the sailors rely on it with confidence, and are seldom disappointed. We fell in with it, and were carried by it into the latitude of Madeira. By

the bye, why should the sort of grapes which thrive in this island not be capable of culture in some of the British islands; on the mountains of Trinidad, for instance? Our people could learn, as well as the Portuguese, to ferment the must in cellars, and to throw in quick lime, when any tendency to acetous fermentation is perceived. The government ought to lower the duty on wines imported from the Cape and from Trinidad, so as to confer the monopoly of the British market on the wine-makers, who might arise in our own colonies. The olive could in like manner probably be cultivated in the hilly parts of Jamaica, and elsewhere.—Our laws have not enough reciprocity: the colonies must buy no where but in Great Britain; while Great Britain gives no corresponding preference to her colonies. Now that the Gallipoli oils grow in French territory, there is some chance, perhaps, that an attempt may be made to supply our woollen manufactories from provinces of our own. Recruiting in the Mediterranean for the garrisons in the West-Indies has been suggested; it might indirectly improve their agriculture, by introducing some peasants accustomed to grow oil, wine, rice and silk.

On the 27th January we saw the snow on the Peak of Teneriffe, the only part of Africa I am ever likely to behold. Three of our horses died in this neighbourhood. On the 7th February we were surrounded by flying-fish. Several of

them lit on deck. I ate one for my supper. They are not unlike herrings; and fly, it seems, in order to cool themselves by evaporation; for they do not rise in the night, and always replunge into the water as soon as their wings are dry. The heat was become excessive: the nautilus sailing with his fan; and the cerulean brilliance of the dorado moved by golden fins, were new objects to me.

On the 8th our main-top-gallant mast caught fire from the friction of a rope newly tarred. This accident retarded us; we fell astern of the whole convoy, but recovered our distance a day or two after, though we were all equally assisted by the trade-wind. Some days before we made land the colour of the sea changed from a deep sky blue to an olive tinge, as if there was mud below; but the water when examined in a glass shewed no sign of turbidness.

After a passage of seven weeks it may naturally be supposed we were very happy when one of the seamen from the fore-top-gallant mast head gave us the joyful warning of "Land, ahead," which was on the 24th of February. The ship Henry, with which we were then in company, having parted convoy in the latitude of Barbadoes, made us a signal "for land discovered on the weather bow." Captain Barrow then went aloft with a glass, and saw plainly a long range of coast running off east to west, distant about five leagues—the land

appeared very low, and completely covered with trees even down to the water's edge. The day was clear and serene, to the utmost transparency of a tropical atmosphere. On heaving the lead we were much alarmed, by being in only quarter less five water, and immediately made a signal to speak our consort. She accordingly came up alongside, and understanding our apprehension, Captain Hayton assured us there was no danger; that it was low water and neap tides—that there was a necessity for our standing in for the land close hauled, to discover what part of the coast we were on, and to prevent the flood tide, which was then making, from carrying us too far to leeward.

As he was acquainted with the coast, we agreed to follow him and obey his signals. The Comet being the best sailer of the two, we shortened sail, and took a reef in the top-sails to keep farther astern of the Henry. About noon we were so close in as to discover a river to windward of us—we were then in three fathom water. The bottom was soft mud, nothing else had adhered to the tallow put into the bottom of the sounding lead. While Captain Barrow was in this state of unpleasant suspense, not knowing where he was or what to do, the Henry made a signal for preparing to anchor. We accordingly coach-wheeled three or four coils of the cable on deck, and in the mean time ran alongside to enquire where we were. Captain Hayton told us the river to windward was

the Courantine, situate between the Berbice and the Surinam, and that we were about a hundred miles to the eastward of Demerary river, but that he thought it adviseable to come to during the night, and recommended a sharp look-out to be kept, as the coast was much infested with privateers from the Orinoko.

We altered our course two points to the westward, which accordingly brought us more in a parallel with the coast, which I had now an opportunity of particularly observing: it was low and perfectly flat, and from its appearance quite wild and uncultivated. Large forests of trees extend along the coast even to the beach, which appeared to consist of mud, with but few intervals of sand. This prospect of a country, in which I was to become a resident for five years, certainly was not the most flattering, but it being the end of my journey, and the first land I had seen for several weeks, I beheld it with glad eyes, and really thought it a most delightful place. I looked on the forests of trees as so many pervious groves and pleasant plantations, and compared the situation of the sea-shore, in my mind's eye, to some of our watering places in England—I hugged myself with the idea of traversing those rural retreats of wood, and hearing the dashing of the waves against the lofty mangroves in my supposed walks of retirement.

Highly gratified by this verdant scenery, and the refreshing breeze having completely recovered me from the remaining qualms of sea-sickness, I retired once more to my state-room, but not to sleep. The watch being set, the careful mariner was pacing the deck, and universal silence reigned, interrupted at intervals with the hollow yet pleasing sound of "All's well," and the chiming of the half-hour bells. I counted eight when the starboard watch was called, and again visited the deck. The flood tide had made, which having raised the anchor we had drifted a little, and the seamen were employed in veering out more cable—a total stillness seemed to pervade the sky—the breeze which had before been so brisk had died away, and left a perfect calm—the swell and roughness of the sea had subsided—nothing was heard but a rippling against the vessel's side, and the voices of the seamen singing "Yo heave yo,"—the moon was just descending below the horizon—the air was mild, and I found that repose on a hen-coop on deck which my bed denied me.

I was aroused in the morning between five and six by a bustle and confusion on deck: the day was already breaking from the east, and the splendour of the rising sun was surpassingly grand. The seamen were weighing the anchor in compliance with a signal from the Henry. This was a more difficult task than we were aware of, and after having attempted the execution of it for two hours, we were absolutely obliged

to relinquish it for the present: as, however, we had neighbour's fare, we could not complain—the Henry was in the same situation. Captain Hayton hailed and told us that we should not be able to purchase our anchor while the ebb tide was running, as it had taken such hold of the mud, but advised our hauling the cable short at low water; and that when the flood tide made, the anchor would weigh itself. We had no other resource, and it was not until ten o'clock that we were under weigh, with a light breeze from the north east, which, however, soon brought us off the mouth of Berbice river. Here the scene began to vary: the stream appeared to be about two miles broad, and nearly in the middle of the channel is an island, which from a chart we had on board, I learnt was called Crab Island. It abounds with land-crabs. With a glass we discovered ships lying at anchor; and the small craft sailing about in shore and coastways were clearly perceptible to the naked eye from the deck. The coast to the eastward of the river was as wild as that we had seen the day before off the Courantine—that to the westward appeared to be cultivated, and we had again the pleasure of beholding habitations on firm ground, interrupted at intervals with clumps of trees, which had been allowed to remain at the sea-side on some of the estates, and made a pleasing variety.

The plantations regularly ranged on the coast, which being a flat strand, shewed them to advantage as on a map, the foliage

quite green, clusters of little cottages, some detached buildings, the better sort of houses, of two, three, and four stories high, painted white, and the red boarded roofs, made many an interesting groupe, and gave to every plantation the air of a separate village. The passing and repassing of schooners and other colony-boats, considerably enlivened the landscape. This character of country continued all the way to the Demerary. We went over the bar safely, but night coming on, we were obliged to anchor about two miles from the river's mouth, and did not get in till the next morning, when a pilot came off and took charge of the vessel, which he brought to anchor under the guns of Fort William Frederic. Now that the breeze blew over land we were delighted with its orange-like fragrance. The scenery is much more diversified about this river's mouth, than on the other parts of the coast. A number of wind-mills appeared at work both on the east and west side of the Demerary. Several handsome and spacious mansions, with look-outs on the beach, the principal ones of which, I afterwards understood, belong to the Bel-Air estate and the Chateau-Margot.

The mouth of the Demerary lies in 6, 50 north latitude, and 58 west longitude from London. The province which it waters, bears the same name, but might more conveniently be called Demeraria. Its extent of sea-coast is nearly one hundred miles, running west, and by north and west; it is

bounded on the east by Berbice, and to the westward by Essequebo. The river at its entrance is nearly a mile and a half broad, and has a bar four miles without of mud, over which no vessel drawing more than nine feet, can pass until half flood.

At high water and spring tides, there are eighteen feet on this bar; but great care must be taken by vessels going in, to keep well up to the east shore. When the mariner is close enough to perceive the shipping, fort, &c. he should keep bearing E. S. E. until he gets within a mile and a half of it, then keep the river a little more open, which brings him into a channel where there are three or four fathoms of water, by which means he clears the weather-bank of sand, which runs out from the point; just round which is a battery called Fort William Frederic, mounting eighteen heavy pieces of cannon. Half a mile east from it, is a block-house, which has a commanding view of the sea, and a communication by signal with Berbice, which gives immediate notice of any vessels being off the coast.

Captain Barrow went on shore to report the vessel to the commandant, when he got a passport for going up the river. We were then visited by the surgeon of health and the harbour-master, who left their respective instructions: we were not troubled by any custom-house officer. A clerk of the merchant, to whom I was to be attached, came on board in the

afternoon with Captain Barrow, in a handsome tent-boat, rowed by six negroes, and the ship's yawl followed with a load of grass for the horses, which was no doubt very acceptable to them.

Let him who is about to set sail for the West Indies, be thoroughly aware that his voyage may endure three months, that he is likely to incur every variety of climate, that the fresh water on board is too precious to be squandered on the washing of linen, and that stores, which a captain thinks luxurious, pass with the passenger for hard fare. Let him therefore be provided with half a dozen checked shirts, and as many black silk cravats, both which may be worn long without looking dirty. If the north-east wind blows in the channel, he will be glad of cloth pantaloons and a warm jacket, thick boots and a stout great coat; and with all this wrapping, when he sits still in the long boat, his teeth will chatter and his thighs shiver. On the contrary, when he approaches the tropics, he will want nankeen trowsers, fine cotton shirts, silk stockings, cloaths light, airy, large, a chip hat, and loose yellow slippers. In the shade of the sail he will complain of the heat of the wind, and were it not for the sharks below, would ask to be towed through the water at a rope's end. The passenger who aspires to be comfortable at the latter part of the voyage, does well to take out two or three dozen fine shirts of cotton twist, as it absorbs the perspiration better than linen, as many

muslin cravats, plenty of pocket-handkerchieves, six or eight pair of gingham trowsers, three or four dimity, or jean, or thinner waistcoats with sleeves, and two dozen pair of those cotton stockings called gauze stockings, which are made for the foreign market to be worn under the silk. It is good economy to take out these things in profusion; they will be useful on shore, where they cost far more than in England. Few English dress cloaths are wanted; one coat is sufficient; an umbrella and a travelling cloak may be welcome.

To fit up a bed, a small mattrass, blanket, and cotton sheets, must be procured at the slop-sellers. Napkins, a square or two of soap, a few needles and some thread and tape will also be found very useful articles. Every traveller should learn to sew, as there is no opportunity on the road or on ship-board, of sending to a tailor or a female, to fasten on a button or stop a seam, and the old adage of "A stitch in time saves nine," is frequently found very applicable; the worst of cloaths are always good enough to wear on ship-board. A passenger should provide himself with a few dozen bottles of wine and porter, and half a dozen of spirits; but the less he drinks of these the better for his health; also four or five dozen fowls, a few ducks, two or three hams, and as many smoaked tongues, a few bottles of pickled cabbage or gherkins, a couple of pounds of tea, and a loaf of sugar. He will have ship's allowance of salt beef, pork, biscuit, and flour. Two or three young pigs and a

lamb make a welcome change of diet, and can be easily enough conveyed out; the captain, if he had no other inducement than the expectancy of a share, would put them into one of his boats on deck, and take good care of them. Provisions must be laid in for the live stock, such as barley, bran, &c. A West-Indiaman has generally only one large cabin, in which, the passengers, captain, and mate dine (unless the former engage the cabin to themselves, in which case it is held sacred), and three or four state-rooms, sufficiently large for placing a crib on one side and a trunk on the other. Steerage passengers have their birth in the steerage, and mess with the crew.

In the hot latitudes, the British shipping suffers considerable injury from the heat of the sun. The boards of the deck must be continually wetted to prevent their splitting quite asunder. The tar of the caulking liquefies, and the seams open formidably. Unless the vessels are copper-bottomed, the adherence of barnacles and other very little shell-fish, and of long sea-grass, is so considerable as to retard the sailing; and the water-worm perforates the timber in so many places, as often to occasion a fatal leakiness. Our colony-craft is always bottomed with *sieurbally*, a very hard wood, but not absolutely worm-proof. Still these hard woods make far fitter vessels for the tropical seas than the European timber. And if the teak-tree

was cultivated in our districts, as in the East Indies, we should no doubt be still better off.

The perverseness of the English navigation-laws provides for the West-Indian trade a most perishable sort of shipping; when, by suffering ships to be built on the coast of South America, a much cheaper and more durable commodity could be had. If British-built ships had no peculiar privileges, little colonies of ship-carpenters would go and station themselves in all the woody parts of South America, which are within reach of water- carriage; would there build, at a venture, vessels innumerable on the spot, and bring them for sale to the chief sea-ports. With the refuse timber they would construct their own huts, and would found a number of villages, the seats of future commerce and consumption. The lumber and shingle now got from North America, both here and in the West Indies, could in great part be derived from the southern continent, and a set of wood-clearers would originate there also, to prepare the extension of agriculture inland. Lord Blaquiere, and the other parliamentary advocates of the old navigation-laws, do not seem aware of the positive mischief and hourly loss resulting from the use of British-built shipping; nor of the delay of colonial improvement resulting from refusing to their vast forests the natural market. Provinces of woods now valueless would acquire an instantaneous importance, a transferable marketable worth, if ships built in the

Essequebo, or the Orinoko, had all the privileges of British shipping; and vessels could be built in future much cheaper at home, if the competition of the tropical trade, for which fir and oak shipping are well adapted, were in some measure withdrawn. The navigation laws have done nothing but mischief; they delayed, by half a century, the natural progress of North America, and therefore in a great degree, occasioned her rebellion; and if they are not repealed with respect to the West Indies, they threaten to occasion there a practical anarchy, in which the sovereignty of Britain will be nominally respected in her colonies, but her laws every where disobeyed by a general connivance. The several governors are obliged to exert perpetually a dispensing power, and thus, in fact, to abrogate a system of legislation, which accumulated experience has shown to be pernicious.

There are some convincing observations on this subject in the Annual Review for 1804, which I hold it useful to repeat.

"The fundamental principle of our navigation-laws, presents itself already in a statute of the fifth year of Richard II. which enacts that none bring in or carry out merchandize but in English ships. This regulation was somewhat relaxed in favour of the French provinces belonging to England; for under Henry VII. additional provisions were made in the fourth year of his reign, for importing the claret of Guienne in

English vessels. Selden drew the attention of the long parliament to this subject; and, by his speeches and controversial pamphlets, prepared that systematic attention of the legislature to secure a monopoly of the shipping-trade employed about our own importations and exportations, which is so efficiently pursued in the 12th Charles II. This bill, known by the name of the navigation-act, by its severe and precise definition of English vessels, completely realized what the statute of Richard II. had in view. It is a law which appears singularly wise to Lord Sheffield, which he considers as the trident of the British Neptune, and which he holds up as the principal and perpetual cause of our maritime prosperity and superiority."

"We doubt the utility of this vaunted navigation-act.

"I. If English-*built* ships had no peculiar privileges, vessels would be built where timber is cheapest: in Canada, in the Surinam, and elsewhere. This would occasion some exportation of shipwrights to the woodier regions of the earth, a more rapid colonization of them, and the consequent extension of the British market for produce and manufacture. It would occasion some diminution of the value of timber at home, thus cheapening the expence of naval defence and territorial architecture, and favouring the conversion of forest into pasture. The sorts of timber too could then be suited to the probable voyage; and teak shipping could be constructed for the tropi-

cal seas, which so rapidly destroy fir and oak shipping. It would occasion the frequent purchase of foreign vessels, whenever war or similar causes interrupt the trade of the continent, and thus be continually adding the very implements of foreign commerce to our own. Our wealth would long ago have obtained a much larger share of the shipping, and of the attached commerce of the world, but for this restriction of the navigation-law. Besides, if the ships of each country are transferable to every other, a smaller number of ships can accomplish the business of the world. While the trade of the Baltic becomes inactive from frost, or of the Mediterranean from indolence, the appropriate shipping might be employed in the Atlantic; but if the proprietors of the Atlantic islands may not employ foreign vessels, they must create native ones; which in their turn will have to repose, while they might have been sold or let, beyond the Sound or the Streights. The builth, wear, and tear of all this needless shipping must be levied on the consumer of removed wares in the price of freight; and thus, in some degree, discourage both the production and removal of such ware.

"II. If English-*manned* ships had no peculiar privileges, sailors would be hired where they can be hired cheapest. For tropical voyages, lascars; for arctic voyages, norse-men, would mostly be engaged, and thus the drains of war and climate on our population would imperceptibly be replaced; and the

supply of natives requisite for the navy would far more easily be obtained. The expence of sailors' wages too, being in that case as low in Great Britain as in any other country, would not be peculiarly burdensome to our resident ship-owners. That depreciation of freight, which the successful competition of foreign shipping has often occasioned, and which, at times, threatens to oust us of the carrying-trade, would never result from the relative state of wages, and, therefore, less frequently occur. If, in consequence of the alertness of our masters of vessels, and of their economy of time, our ship-owners can successfully compete with foreigners, who pay lower wages for their crews, how much vaster would be our shipping-interest, but for this restriction of the navigation law?

"III. If English-*owner'd* ships had no peculiar privileges, almost all vessels, not employed in the coasting-trade, would be owned conjointly by Englishmen and foreigners. The vessels trading to Hamburgh or the Baltic, would belong in part to the English houses, to whom they would be consigned here; and belong in part to the Hamburghers or Anseatic citizens, to whom they would be consigned in the North Seas. The vessels trading to America, would have their proprietors resident there. In those trading to the Mediterranean, merchants of Livorno and Smyrna would purchase small shares, in order to secure a preference of consignation. The consequence of interesting a consignee in the profits of a ship is,

that the expence of demurrage, or stay in a foreign port, is thereby greatly lessened. He has to gain by delaying a ship wholly British; he has to gain by expediting a ship partly his own. In the one case, the hulk yawns for a cargo, during months, beside the mole; in the other case, it is discharged and re-charged, like a Scotch still. Immense is the labour lost to the country, and to the world, in consequence of the impediment to foreign partnerships, imposed by this restriction of the navigation-act. But it has still another mischievous operation. In time of war, vessels jointly owner'd are easily transferred to the neutral party; and thus commerce would be very exempt from the troubles of war; but vessels, all whose owners are English, cannot suddenly, or in large numbers be transferred, so as to reap the advantages of neutrality. Hence the necessity of permitting merchants to turn their vessels into privateers. This barbarous practice increases during war the quantity of positive destruction and of unproductive labour; and it supersedes the navy in a sort of piratical vigilance, which ought rather to be the occupation and the reward of valour than of industry.

"These three points are the principal provisions of the navigation-act. It requires vessels to be *built* at home, *manned* from home, *owned* at home. Lord Sheffield will not find it easy to prove any one of these regulations beneficial. They existed, without creating a marine, from Richard the Second

to Henry the Eighth. As soon as the colonies, or plantations, began to thrive, a marine grew up; which, in the Dutch war of Cromwell, and in that at the beginning of the reign of Charles the Second (both before the navigation-act), was equal or superior to the united navies of France and Holland. Our naval strength has grown with our colonial intercourse, not by means of, but in spite of the act of navigation. It was found absolutely necessary to break in upon this act in the 35th of Geo. III. by what was callel the Dutch Property Act; without which Britain could not have profited from the migration of Dutch capital, rendered natural by the French conquest of Holland. A further inroad of a more equivocal kind was made the year following, by conferring a dispensing power on the privy-council; a measure the resource of laziness, which cared not to discuss, and dared not to abandon decidedly, the old system."

CHAPTER II.

LANDING AT STABROEK—FIRST IMPRESSION OF THE PLACE AND PEOPLE—VISIT TO THE REYNESTEIN ESTATE—RIVER DEMERARY ASCENDED TO THE SAND-HILLS AND RAPIDS.

WE landed about noon at the American wharf. It spread like wild-fire that we were from one of the vessels just arrived; and our captain was soon surrounded by the whole band of hucksters and pedlars belonging to the town. Here were blacks, yellows, and tawnies, bawling and vociferating in a wretched jargon, half Dutch and half English, whether he had any thing to sell—each trying to hitch himself closer than his neighbour. Not liking to be inclosed within this stifling ring of people, I took an opportunity of slipping between a stout mulatto woman and a negro butcher six feet high, leaving Captain Barrow in the midst of his assurances that he had plenty of goods for sale. Seeing some fine oranges I asked for six-penny-worth; the negress gave me thirty. I was obliged to call in the aid of my handkerchief and pockets to contain them. This was a scene which stamped me as a newcomer. Several negroes standing by offered to carry the oranges for me. Others greeted me on my arrival with

"How d'ye massa? You come from Buchra Country no? Buchra Country Good!"

Stabroek was to me quite a new sight. I recollected no English town which bore the least resemblance. It stands on the flat strand, and canals, where black and tawny children were plunging about like didappers, inclose the main street: while wooden houses, with colonnaded porticoes and balconies shaded by a projecting roof, are orderly arranged between spacious intervals in three parallel lines. They are seldom above two story high: they stand on low brick foundations, and are roofed with a red wood, which I took for mahogany. No where the glitter of a glass casement; Venetian blinds, or *jealousees* as they are called by the inhabitants, close every window; and the rooms project in all directions to catch the luxury of a thorough draft of air, so that the ground-plan of a dwelling is mostly in the shape of a cross. There are no trees in the streets as in Holland; the town would have been pleasanter with this imitation of the old country; but casks and bales lie about, as if every road was a wharf, and numerous warehouses are intermingled with the dwellings. Even the public buildings are of wood. Blacks clad only with a blue pantaloon, or with a mere towel of checking supported by a string about the loins, come to perform every office. Here and there a white man in a muslin shirt, and gingham trowsers is seen smoaking his segar, and giving directions from under an um-

brella to his sable messengers; or is led about in a phaeton drawn by ponies to superintend the shipping of his goods. A noon-day sultriness and silence prevail: every motion is performed with such tranquillity for fear of kicking up a dust, that one would suppose the very labourers at work in a church during service.

Being now overtaken by Captain Barrow, who came blowing and puffing from the fatiguingly warm reception he met with on his landing, we were conducted to the merchant with whom I was destined to reside. The first refreshment offered me was Madeira wine and water. The water was clear and cool, and a great luxury. I had not tasted such all the voyage; I had not cared for such all my life before. It was rain-water, I found, preserved in a wooden cistern, and purified by dropping through a filtering stone. The river-water is brackish, and there are no good springs near Stabroek.

I next retired to cleanse myself from the make-shift habits of the voyage. A shower-bath was offered me, which I accepted. I got into an upright square tub or cistern; and a negress watered me like a transplanted cucumber. The accommodations for bathing are unworthy of the climate. In all fevers and especially in that which Europeans call *the seasoning*, bathing is the most essential remedy. For luxury, for neatness, it is a most valuable pastime. By the time I had

unpacked, washed, and dressed, dinner was ready, namely at five.

A dinner at Stabroek is a sort of mercantile medley of the imitable parts of the manners of remote nations. There was soop to begin with as in France, and salted ling to begin with as in Holland: there was an English huge joint of beef and a couple of Moscovy ducks: there was an Italian desert of Bologna sausages and sallad, anchovies and olives: there was fruit of all kinds, pine-apples, guavas, oranges, shaddocks and avoiras. Wine was taken during the repast, and porter between the courses, for a *bonne-bouche*.

At dusk, spermaceti candles were lighted, and placed within large cones of glass, to prevent the wind from blowing them aside. Segars were offered to us at the whist table, and most of the party smoaked, and drank coffee. A hammock, protected by a gauze curtain against the mosquitoes, was allotted me to sleep in, until beds could be put up.

The household establishment I found to consist of eight male and two female negro-servants; a strange disproportion. The house was spacious, airy, and open, with pervious shutters, to admit every where a free circulation of air.

A few days after my arrival I accompanied my friend up the river on a visit to the Reynestein estate. Our conveyance was a tent-boat. They are generally from twenty to thirty feet long, and wide in proportion; they are built very sharp for the purpose of sailing or rowing fast. About six or eight feet of the stern are occupied by the tent, in the inside of which are blinds to let down as occasion requires. A cockpit is behind for the cockswain to steer in. He is styled Captain, and has entire command of the boat. The negroes while pulling took off their hats and jackets; they appeared quite merry and sung all the way—the chorus of their principal and most favourite song was "Good Neger make good Massa;" and was repeated at intervals by one whose sole part that was.

They appeared to have a great pride and emulation about their boat, and an opportunity offered of shewing it. Another boat being considerably a-head of us they exerted themselves of their own accord, and soon passed her. With this they were highly delighted, and, when abreast of their competitors, laid on their oars and insultingly asked them if they wanted a tow-rope.

The Demerary is, as I before said, two miles broad at its mouth, but inland it does not exceed one mile and a half. Its bed runs up this width perfectly straight to Diamond point,

which is about ten miles from Stabroek, where it takes a course more westward. The river affords an excellent harbour, and would, in fact, hold all the navy of Great Britain, but unfortunately the bar will not admit vessels that draw more than eighteen feet. Ships lying here are completely sheltered from all squalls and tempestuous weather, nor do hurricanes ever occur. The water in the mid-channel deepened as we proceeded from four to six fathoms.

The cultivation along the river is confined to sugar, coffee, and plantains, with a small quantity of cocoa and rice. The latter was but recently introduced; however, little doubt was entertained of its being made perfectly to answer the purpose of the colony; and if the cultivation was encouraged by government, it would soon rival that of South Carolina, being aided by a great similarity of climate. The river affords picturesque but uniform scenery. Plantations regularly ranged on either side—dwelling-houses built on the banks close to the water—other buildings scattered about in different directions, without respect to order—the wind, water, and cattle mills, on the sugar estates, with the *logies*, or barns, of three stories high, on the coffee ones—made a pretty contrast. Every plantation has a wharf, or landing-place, opposite the dwelling-house, and a canal, or trench, with sluices, which answer two purposes, to drain off the superfluous water on the

estate, and to harbour boats, &c. while they are loading or discharging.

The plantations along the river, as well as in the other parts of the colonies, were surveyed and laid out in grants, or allotments, of five hundred acres, by the Dutch West India Company. They are of an oblong form, the frontage being one hundred roods, and the depth seven hundred and fifty; with a conditional grant of as much more behind the first, when two thirds of that should be cultivated. All the estates on the river are now entitled to this, and many of them have already carried their cultivation thirteen or fourteen hundred roods from the banks of the river in a straight line with the extended sides of the front dam, or ditch, thrown up to prevent the water in spring tides from inundating the land. Two side dams are likewise thrown up, and extend as far as the cultivation, where they join a back dam: so that an estate is a complete island within itself, and *dammed* on all sides. Every plantation is therefore obliged to have a bridge on each side, to permit the traveller to cross these trenches and canals, in prosecution of his journey. Like public roads, these bridges are obliged to be kept in repair, and according to an act of the court of police, to be painted white, that they may be seen with more facility in a dark night.

The cultivation of sugar and coffee on the banks of the river has a pretty effect. Boats sailing up and down, and windmills at work, gave me a favourable idea of the industry of the inhabitants. The principal craft used in the river are punts, or flat-bottomed boats, about thirty feet long and eight wide, nearly square at both ends, which, from drawing little water, are well calculated for the trenches, or canals, of an estate. They are generally large enough to stow twenty hogsheads of sugar with facility, and may be compared to the lighters on the Thames. In Stabroek there are people who let them out to discharge or load ships, at the moderate price of from twenty to thirty shillings per day.

* The estates on the river, I was informed, had greatly increased and extended themselves since 1796, as well as those on the coast; and where there was one sugar-plantation then, there were five now. Three fine new canals are already dug, and carried twenty miles into the interior, and, as the water-carriage extends, fresh lands are getting into cultivation, in coffee, sugar, and plantains.

* Pinckard has given an erroneous idea to the public about these estates being abandoned. On the contrary, they are improved, and increased, as is also the number of negroes. The land on the sea-coast is unfit for the production of sugar, coffee, and plantains, from the soil being too saline.

The head of one of these canals which I visited, reposed in a fine Savannah country, of several miles extent, presenting the same flat scenery which characterizes the other parts of the colony. Not a mountain, a hill, or a mole-heap was perceptible. No wonder the Dutch fixed here: a Lincolnshire man would fancy himself at home. The navigation is good a few miles up for schooners; but the principal craft used are punts covered in, like the tent-boats.

After passing Diamond point we came in sight of a small island, where was formerly the fort and seat of government. It may be about two miles in circumference, and is possessed by a wood-cutter, who has a plantain walk here. A considerable quantity of swine and poultry are raised for sale, which answers uncommonly well, from its vicinity to Stabroek.

Nearly opposite to the lower point of Fort Island, and on the west side of the river is situated the plantation Reynestein, about two hours and a half from Stabroek. This was the answer I got when enquiring the distance between one place and the other. I smiled at the laconism, and repeated my question in a different form. I was then given to understand it was about fifteen or sixteen miles, but that the distances had never been measured, for which reason they always calculated by the length of time they were in performing a journey.

We were received in a handsome, kind, hospitable manner, at the landing-place, by the proprietor, who welcomed me to the country, and wished me my health. He himself had been an inhabitant of this clime for fifteen years, and left his native land at the same age I did. A party of friends was assembled in the house, to whom I was introduced; we afterwards partook of a cold collation, and drank sangaree, a composition resembling negus, and pine-apple punch.

The Reynestein is a sugar estate, and in my walks about it I had an opportunity of making several remarks. There are navigable canals all over the estate, which fall into one grand stream that turns the water-mill. By these canals the sugar-cane is brought to the mills in punts. In the West India islands, I was informed, the planters are obliged to convey the produce from the fields by mules; herein certainly the Demerary planter possesses an evident advantage, both with regard to labor and expence. The sugar-reed is naturally a marsh-plant, and succeeds best in wet soils.

During my perambulation, I was astonished at seeing the quantity of pine-apples, growing apparently in a wild state, on the banks of the canals. I got one, which not proving very good, my friend pulled four or five, and threw them away like so many turnips, until he procured me one that was ripe. It is a common thing to feed swine with them. My astonish-

ment was increased when our conductor took us to a large trench, fifty rood long and twelve feet wide, which was absolutely filled up with pine-apples: they so completely overran the estate at one time, that he was obliged to root them up for the purpose of preventing their further extension. On this estate there is a walk of fruit-trees nearly a mile long, consisting of orange, lime, lemon, mammy-apple, sour sop, cocoa-nut, and wild cherry trees.

Dinner was served up at five in the greatest elegance of style; it consisted of two courses, and included every rarity the colony produced, aided by European productions. There was excellent wine, London porter in its prime, and bottled table beer. The negro attendants displayed great dexterity in laying the cloth, and waiting at table. Every thing appeared like clock-work: not the least confusion was perceptible, though there were more than half-a-dozen servants in the room.

All the party had, by the persuasion of our kind host, determined on remaining all night. I was surprised about nine o'clock by seeing the tables cleared away, and half a dozen hammocks brought in and hung up to rings placed for that purpose on the beams, two mattrasses were made up on the floor, and a third on the sofa. This manner of accommodation I understood was practised throughout the colonies. As I

was a stranger, and unused to hammock sleeping, I was shewn into a separate room, where a good bed, hung with gauze nettings or curtains, to keep out the musquitoes, was prepared for me.

In the morning, after taking a good cup of coffee immediately upon leaving my bed, and next a breakfast, which consisted of animal food, friccaseed fowls, and fruit, I was informed that a farther jaunt up the river, as far as the sand-hills, was agreed on. The boats were accordingly prepared and refreshments put on board each.

The distance is about twenty miles, and the flood tide was then running up. After passing the first or Fort Island, the width of the river visibly began to decrease. The estates and cultivation did not wear that drest and pleasant appearance which that part of the river did below Point Diamond. In particular places the banks, to the water's edge, were covered with thick and almost impenetrable underwood, and heavy trees. Only the centre of the estates seemed cleared, so as to leave a circulation of air, or a view of the river from the dwelling-house.

We passed three islands before we arrived at these sand-hills, or rather mountains. They are situated on the west side of the river, and appeared to be from one hundred to a hun-

dred and fifty feet high, nearly perpendicular. On the summit of one, stood a dwelling belonging to a Mr. Brotherson, a wood-cutter, whom Pinckard properly represents, as inhospitable as the appearance of the hills themselves. The party knew this propensity, and therefore avoided throwing themselves on him for refreshment. We took our repast under a tree, and the cool water bubbling from the springs, enabled us to make our sangaree, or negus. These springs are of great use to shipping. In watering, a boat may come up and lie alongside the hills, while a leather pipe conducted from the springs, fills the puncheons without further trouble. For each boat, the king of the sand hills, Mr. Brotherson, demands two dollars, and the same for a load of sand. After strolling about until we were quite fatigued, we re-embarked with the turning of the tide, and arrived again at the Reynestein about the appointed hour. Next morning we left our hospitable entertainer, breakfasted at the Hope, opposite Diamond Point, and arrived in Stabroek by twelve o'clock.

The different estates on this river bear a strong resemblance to each other, both for extent and distribution: yet one may often distinguish the country of the owner by the appearance of the property. The general neatness and formal regularity of a Dutch estate has a peculiar mien. The houses, buildings, bridges, gates, are carefully painted white, which is the favourite colour of the Hollanders. Roads regularly serpentine

lead to their dwellings: and little square clusters, or strait alleys, of cocoa-nuts and limes, indicate the measuring methodical taste of the continental gardeners.

What does honor to them, both as individuals and as a nation, is their indiscriminate hospitality. There are no road-houses, inns, or places of public entertainment; but, in all my subsequent trips by land to the neighbouring settlements, as well as on this occasion, I every where received eager attentions from utter strangers. They accept visitors with all the warmth of friendship; and give a welcome, which includes the command of whatever the house affords. They keep good tables; and willingly purchase what the country does not supply. For potatoes (*ardappels*) such is their relish, that I have known three pounds sterling given for a hamper from Ireland, which contained about two bushels.

The Dutch planters are clear and strict accountants, very regular in all their mercantile transactions. They deserve credit for their industry and perseverance, and according to the old adage, they are slow but sure. They would be better planters than the English, were they to make an equal point of encreasing progressively their cultivation; but they cling to the maxims of their native land; they aspire only to a competency not to a fortune; and they waste labor, under an idea of having their estates look like gardens. The Englishman

makes more of his property; but the Dutchman leaves it a better inheritance. All the land is so rich, that it requires little or no attention after being planted, except weeding three or four times within the year. Naturally, therefore, the more ground is planted, the greater the produce. With the same number of negroes a Dutchman has less land under cultivation than an Englishman.

The Dutch were formerly severe masters, and used to inflict odious cruelties on their negroes. I am happy to have observed that this cannot now be laid to their charge. The milder habits of the English planter have gradually taught a better system. The indignation systematically shown by the English authorities, and the fines occasionally levied, by formal representation to the Fiscal of the division, have also been conducive to bettering the situation of the Dutch negroes. Yet even now it is felt as a terror to menace a negro with selling him to a Dutchman. The Dutchman, however, has a like terror in reserve, and threatens to sell his slave to a free negro. The Africans are of all masters the worst to one another. They were accustomed on their native coast to a harsher and more abject slavery than they incur in Guyana.

The English planters were frequently told that by following up their mild measures, and discountenancing all severity toward the labourer, they would in a short time bring the colo-

nies into a state of insurrection. This comparative gentleness has, however, been practised for ten years with success; and I am confident, that besides discharging a debt due to humanity, the planters are the richer for it.

The river Demerary is navigable for large vessels about one hundred miles above its mouth. It is settled for nearly another hundred miles further inland. At that distance are cataracts, or rapids, which obstruct navigation; but which, on account of the romantic mountainous scenery around, are occasionally visited by parties of pleasure. Arrowauk Indians dwell near them, and are very accommodating to white visitors.

A few miles above the falls two streams unite to form the Demerary: the one comes from the south-west and the other from the south-east: but whence they descend is unknown to the Europeans. It is supposed to have sources less remote than the Essequebo, as the quantity of water collected, though more rapid, is not so considerable.

CHAPTER III.

STABROEK——ITS CONFIGURATION——POPULATION——MANNERS—AMUSEMENTS—CLASSES OF INHABITANTS—PUBLIC PLACES, BUILDINGS, OFFICES—POLICE—MONIES OF EXCHANGE—MILITARY REGULATIONS.

STABROEK, the political metropolis, and principal seat of exchange for produce, of all the countries adjacent to the Demerary and Essequebo, is situated on the east side of the river Demerary. Its site is low and level. It has an oblong form, being about one-fourth of a mile broad and one mile long. The principal streets are quite strait, with carriage roads. The middle street, leading from the King's stelling, is paved with bricks, and has lamps on each side: another public stelling, or wharf (besides several that are private) is kept purposely in order for landing and shipping goods. A navigable canal on each side of the town, which fills and empties with the tide, affords the same convenience to those houses which are not situated near the water-side. The population in Stabroek consists of about fifteen hundred whites, two thousand free people of color, and five thousand negroes.

There are no taverns, or lodging-houses, wherefore a merchant's house is more like an inn than any thing else.—People coming from England generally bring letters of introduction which are always attended to, and secure to the bearers a hospitable reception—a knife and fork is laid for them, and a hammock prepared, which they occupy as long as suits their convenience. Planters residing in the country, always put up at the merchant's house with whom they do business.

The way of living differs materially from that of England. The general hour for rising is six, far the pleasantest part of the day, by which time coffee, and often chocolate, is prepared. Breakfast is delayed until ten, which is in fact more like a dinner, from the introduction of animal food, wine and water, and sometimes fruit. By four in the afternoon all business is over for the day. Five is the hour of the principal meal, which is served up by a profusion of attendants: Madeira and Claret are the wines most in request. In the houses there are no bells; every gentleman carries in his pocket an ivory whistle, which when used assembles the servants. The evening is generally passed at the coffee-house, which is situated near the American stelling, and denominated the Exchange, from its being so much frequented by the young merchants as a lounge. Here the news of the day, the list of arrivals and importations, the prices of produce and the departure

of vessels, are always to be known. Draughts, backgammon, chess, whist, and billiards, share the attention of the guests. A walk to the camp is usual and pleasant, where the band plays after the troops are marched to the barracks. Few weeks pass without a ball, or a concert, the attending of which is, however, very expensive. A ball and supper cost to each of the gentlemen subscribers eight dollars, a concert and ball twelve dollars. His ticket also introduces two ladies of color.

Strolling players from North America occasionally visit the West Indies. Twice during my six years stay they came to Stabroek, having previously made a tour among the islands. The company consisted but of four or five persons; they had chartered a vessel at New York; they had embarked a cargo of canvass palaces and painted forests, of crowns and daggers, sceptres and chains, of the purple attire of majesty, and the motley foppery of folly. At Grenada and Barbadoes, they had unpacked their portable theatre, and had been received with an applause, which was re-echoed from the continent. The admission was two dollars for each representation, and public curiosity detained them nearly three months. The plays of Skakspeare require so much show and so many actors, that we had often to be content with select scenes. The simplicity of the ancient drama was restored by the economical criticism of the manager. It might be wished that plays, like those of the Greeks and French, were written for the service

of these cruizing players: such simple compositions would better suit the rude state of their dramatic system, than the complex works of English art and refinement. In the French islands, negro performers have been enlisted to take parts in the maritime companies; but there are few Moorish characters on our stage, except Othello, Juba, and Oronoko, which they could personate with propriety. In an illiterate community, which can only learn through the ear, the drama is an important engine of instruction, and might be rendered essentially conducive to historic and moral information, and even to the civilization of the vulgar and undisciplined.

When an European arrives in the West Indies, and gets settled or set down for any length of time, he finds it necessary to provide himself with a housekeeper, or mistress. The choice he has an opportunity of making is various, a black, a tawney, a mulatto, or a mestee; one of which can be purchased for 100l. or 150l. sterling, fully competent to fulfil all the duties of her station: some of them are so much educated as to be able to read and write. They are tasty and extravagant in their dress; but when once an attachment takes place it is inviolable. The strictest scrutiny of their conduct in general cannot glean one particle of impropriety, by which their fidelity or constancy can be brought into question. They embrace all the duties of a wife, except presiding at table; so far decorum is maintained, and a distinc-

tion made. They employ themselves in needle-work, and other domestic affairs. Their usefulness in preserving the arts and diffusing the habits of cleanliness is felt and allowed by all, there being a lack of civilized European women. If a young progeny of coloured children is brought forth, these are emancipated, and mostly sent by those fathers who can afford it, at the age of three or four years, to be educated in England. Some remain in the country as free subjects, and preserve the stock for a future generation. In these colonies, where the population of females of this description is so small, and the demand for them so great, the common method of supplying the deficiency, or the wants of individuals, is to send orders to Barbadoes and other fully peopled islands, for ladies, who are always to be procured either by purchase, or by inducing those that are free to come and settle among the Demerarians. Indeed, there are coloured women residing in Stabroek, who have of late years made a traffic of feminine importation, and receive a premium for whatever ladies they introduce, beside the expences, from the gentlemen with whom they afterwards cohabit. The French islands of Martinique and Grenada have not contributed a little towards populating these infant colonies with free women of color. Perhaps it would be a more useful fashion to make these purchases, which is not impracticable, among the indigenous Americans: the mestees are a more beautiful race than the mulattoes, and the continental savages would gradu-

ally be attracted by their kinswomen into habits of intercourse and civilization. Young men, who have not regular establishments, hire small houses in the suburbs of Stabroek and Cumingsburgh, where they invite their friends in an evening to smoak segars, and are enabled to indulge in the customs of the colony.

As Dutchmen and other foreigners in the colonies differ in some points of their living and household economy from the English, a short sketch of them may not prove unacceptable.

Their general hour of rising is with the sun, about a quarter before six, when they make their appearance in a morning gown and slippers, in the portico or piazza of the house, where a female negro is in waiting with the coffee equipage. After a Dutch planter has taken a dish or two of strong coffee. with little or no sugar in it, the yonge, or boy, brings him his pipe, tobacco, and flask of gin: with these he enjoys himself till between nine and ten o'clock, when he is visited by the baas, or overseer of the estate, who reports progress, and receives orders as to preparing produce for sale or shipment, and any thing else which is needful to be done on the estate. He then dresses himself, calls for a glass of water and a napkin to wash his face and hands with. I scarcely ever saw a hand-basin in any of their houses, even where there are white

females. This is a strange inconsistency when compared to the cleanliness of the interior of their houses, in which they are nicer than about their persons. Their rooms generally undergo a thorough scrubbing with lemons every morning, which diffuses a beautiful odor, in opposition to the no less regular fumes of tobacco. The excuse which is given for their attachment to smoaking is that it has a sedative quality, which corrects the effect of strong drink, and preserves them from the colds and damps, that so often prove fatal in this moist atmosphere. If a Dutchman gets wet, the antidote he takes against cold is two or three glasses of gin and a pipe; he allows his clothes to dry on him. This idea, perhaps, constitutes an apology for the use of tobacco in Holland, though I cannot but think the stupifying or intoxicating effects it produces, have more share in it. Of its efficacy as a remedy I cannot pretend to say much, but I know many of the English colonists, who adopted the usage, were always ready to shelter themselves with their neighbour's excuse. A luxurious calm of mind, a mild gaiety and pleasing chearfulness, unlike the boisterous hilarity of wine, but fitter for a climate which compels to sedentary habits, really accompanies the absorption of tobacco-fumes. The smoaker appears only tranquil, but he feels happy. Nor is our tobacco deprived, like the Virginian, of its native fragrance, by aspersions of urine, by fermentation and pressure; it has an odor as of incense, and is used in token of reverence. It is a rarity in Stabroek

to meet a person in the streets at evening without his pipe or segar, and it is always considered a mark of attention, when two people meet smoaking, to discharge a mouthful of smoak at each other.

But to return—we are leaving my Dutchman without his breakfast, which, from its substantiality, will prove to be the best meal he makes in the day. About eleven o'clock he sits down to a table covered with various kinds of animal food, vegetable soups, and fruit. Pepper-pot, a soup flavoured with the juice of the bitter cassada, and made pungent with red and green pepper, is a constant concomitant. Madeira wine and water, and malt liquor, are substituted for tea: they are considered more strengthening and better adapted for the heat of the climate than the other, which generally overheats, and is productive of bile. An hour is appropriated for the gentleman to break his fast, after which he orders his horse and pays a visit to some of his neighbours, or rides round the estate to see the negroes at work, in either of which cases a negro boy follows him on foot, with a pouch of segars and a stick of fire. It is his constant practice whether on horseback, walking, or riding in a carriage, to smoak, and be supplied through the medium of a servant. He dines about three or four o'clock, and after taking a portion of claret, retires for his afternoon's nap, where he sleeps away the fatigues of the day. He grows tired of the hammock towards evening, when he

comes down and takes his coffee, after which, a walk round the buildings, to enquire into the state of the negroes and their work, concludes the day. Dutch overseers treat their principals with the utmost respect: as they approach Mynheer within half a dozen yards, the hat is immediately doffed as a token of their inferiority, and is placed under the arm while receiving his orders, to all of which the answer is, "*Ja, weledele gestreenge Heer.*"—"Yes, great and honoured Sir." Such insignificant and unrestrained flattery as this from one European to another, is truly disgusting, and ought, I think, to be totally laid aside; but such are the failings of human nature, that I have seen sensible well informed men in other respects, while surrounded by their friends, call up their overseers to give orders and ask questions, merely to display their greatness, and the respect they are held in, by a public repetition of such flattery. The negroes belonging to Dutch estates, copy the overseers' humble politeness, and are considerably more respectful to whites than those belonging to English plantations. A certain erect carriage in John Bull imperceptibly introduces itself into the incult address of the English negroes. Or it may arise from their not being kept so strictly, nor considered in so degraded situation as other negroes are. I am convinced, was it made a general rule among European planters to inculcate into the minds of the negroes proper ideas of their situation, as the English do, it would inspire them with a certain degree of emulation and

pride: seeing themselves respected and held in estimation would answer much better than the fear of punishment, in keeping them to their regular employments. This hint, if properly attended to, may in the course of time bring the slaves in the West Indies on a level with the English peasantry of this day: their present situation may be compared to that vassalage in which nobles formerly held the lower order of people throughout Europe.

The general hour for retiring to rest in the country, is about eight or nine o'clock, the intermediate time between this and sun set, is occupied by smoaking and drinking gin. Should no neighbour, or traveller, call to spend the evening with the great man, he is sometimes induced to send for the convenient overseer to play cards, or draughts, with him, which is considered as a mark of great favor. I should have observed, that sometimes it is the wish of the proprietor, that the negroes, after leaving work, should come and receive their daily allowance of rum before his door, where he sits in state smoaking his pipe, sullenly receiving the reiterated thanks of the negroes in broken English and Dutch "*Dankee Meester.*" The Dutch planters are vain of a large house and a number of servants, which are mostly female; their garden, curricle, and pleasure boat, engage another part of their attention; they are particularly fond of good horses, and certainly deserve them, from their attention and care for those animals.

I have often considered with astonishment, the mixture of European inhabitants which destiny has heaped together in this community. Dutch, Germans, Prussians, Russians, Swedes, Danes, Spaniards, French, and Americans, may be incorporated as one-third of the white population, and Great Britain claims the other two. All national enmity seems to be forgotten, while the pursuits of the motley group are directed unanimously to climbing the ladder of fortune. Men are seen on all its stages, looking forward with anxious solicitude for the time of reaching the heighth of their ambition. Happily, commercial competition has in it little of envy; for each finds his own account in the success of his rival. The rich man is a better customer, a more liberal creditor, a safer debtor, than the necessitous: every one thrives the faster, because his neighbour has already thriven.

There is a market-place where the negroes assemble to sell their truck, such as fruit, vegetables, fowls, eggs, and where the hucksters expose for sale articles of European manufacture (much in the same manner as the pedlars do in England) in addition to salt beef, pork, and fish, bread, cheese, pipes, tobacco, and other articles, in small quantities, to enable the negroes to supply themselves agreeably to the length of their purses. Hucksters are free women of color, who purchase their commodities of merchants at two or three months credit, and retail them out in the manner described. Many of them

are, indeed, wealthy, and possess ten, fifteen, and twenty negroes, all of whom they employ in this traffic. It is by no means an uncommon thing for negroes in this line to be travelling about the country for several weeks together, sometimes with an attendant, having trunks of goods to a considerable amount, say two hundred pounds, and when a good opportunity offers, they remit to their mistresses what money they have taken. It is really surprizing what a large sum is thus returned by these people going from one estate to another. The permission of the manager on every plantation is always necessary, before the huckster ventures to the negro houses, where the bargains are made. Those that have not money barter their fowls, pigs, segars, for what they stand in need of. The hucksters are provided with such an assortment as to be able to supply the negro with a coarse check, or the manager with a fine cambric, for his shirts. Coloured women of all descriptions are extravagantly fond of dress: but those resident in the country, not having such an opportunity as the Stabroek ladies of seeing every thing new as it arrives, feel a lively sensation of joy and pleasure at the sight of a huckster, and anticipate the pleasure of tumbling over the contents of her trunk; and if it contains any new articles of fashion, their hearts beat high with wishes to obtain them. If a joe or a dollar be still remaining, it is sure to go: should their purse be empty, they make no hesitation in asking for credit: such is the general character and conduct of coloured women.

There is a certain stage in the progress of civilization in which a country is most conveniently supplied by pedlars. The inhabitants live too far asunder, and are not numerous enough to support stationary shops; yet the probable consumption of each estate is sufficient to reward the journey of a hawker of wares. The European jews still exercise this division of labor, which Europe has outgrown: they are consequently sinking in utility: their trade is less profitable and less popular than it was some centuries ago. They would do well to come over in large numbers to South America, where they might become efficient agents for the distribution of European commodities throughout the interior. The dialect of the European Jews is admirably adapted for the coast of Guyana, which speaks a medley of Dutch and English, softened by negro pronunciation into a *lingua franca,* the very counterfeit of their speech in Europe. It may be added, that at Paramaribo, a large Jew population has been found to thrive.

Adjoining the market-place are the butchers' shambles. The butchers are mostly free men of color, who have purchased their emancipation, and have acquired a little capital and credit. They commence their career by the slaughter of pigs, after that of sheep; oxen soon follow. They supply themselves from the importations of the Americans, and from those few planters who rear cattle for sale. Unless a butcher clears ten or fifteen pounds sterling by an ox, he thinks it a

bad bargain. He is at no expence whatever, as, on the arrival of an ox in town, it is immediately conveyed to the slaughter house.

The market is copiously supplied with butchers' meat, but at a most extravagant rate: mutton 3s. veal 2s. 6d. beef 2s. 1d. pork 10d. per pound. With fish, the town is not so well provided as the country, no fish-monger has ever yet engaged in the business upon a scale sufficiently extensive to supply the population. The utmost endeavor yet made is that of some negroes, who hire themselves of their masters, at so much a day or month, and go a little beyond the mouth of the river in canoes, returning by one or two o'clock and selling what they may have caught. A very glutinous fish, called a Paukama, which is esteemed a dainty, is taken in a curious manner. It finds a principal part of its sustenance in hollow trees, logs of wood, and in the skeletons of old ships, which from laying in mud by the water side, soon decay. These they visit for food during flood tide, but at ebb are left in the cavities of the wood, out of which the negroes draw them by a hook fastened to the end of a stick.

Houses for fire-engines are contiguous to the market-place, and a company of fire men are formed out of the coloured free people, for doing which duty they are exempted from serving in the Burgher militia. There are two engines, but from the

negligence of those who have the care of them, it is feared they are not in repair fit for use.

At the King's Stelling, ferry boats are always in waiting to carry passengers, horses, chaises, to the other side of the river, where there are two high roads, one leading up the river, the other cross to the Essequebo.

The public buildings in the town are the governor's house, and a range of offices for conducting public business.—The secretary's office is so large as to comprize the courts of police and justice, and a place of worship, in which the Dutch service is first performed, on a Sunday, by an ecclesiastic of that country, after which the garrison chaplain reads the prayers appointed by the church of England. Next comes the receiver general's office for the king's colonial duties: the commissary's or king's stores: the town guard-house: and the exploiteur, or marshall's office; after which the public goal, for the confinement of criminals, debtors, runaway, or arrested negroes. In the adjoining town, to the south-east, is the burial-ground, comprising ten acres of land. In the new town, or Cumingsburgh, is the fiscal's office, custom-house, post office, and a colonial hospital, for the reception of those, who are unable to defray medical expences, or being reduced by illness are out of employ. When the writer was about leaving the colonies, the merchants and principal inhabitants

were entering into large contributions, for the purpose of building a marine hospital, or Lazaretto, capable of containing five hundred patients. Should this arrangement be carried into effect, it will be the means of adding greatly to the comforts of the seamen employed in this trade, who for want of such an extensive establishment as this is intended to be, are obliged to linger with the most dreadful distempers in the hold or steerage of a vessel engaged in the hurry and confusion of taking in, or discharging a cargo, without that attendance and rest, which are so requisite to people in their situation.

The houses are built of wood, two and three stories high, raised on brick foundations, which include excellent cellars. The frames and shingles (which are laths of twelve inches long and four wide, laid on the tops of houses like tiles) are the produce of the adjacent forests. Boards, planks, clap-boards, for closing in, are imported from America. No fires, nor even stoves are in the dwelling houses, the kitchen being always separate; but for their cleanliness little indeed can be said, when compared to those in England. The principal fuel used is wood, and the meat, instead of being roasted, is baked. The generality of the cooks are men, and a good one sells for almost any money. Good houses well situated for mercantile concerns, either in Stabroek, or the new town, let with avidity for three, four, and five hundred pounds yearly. This sort of building, if undertaken by a merchant settler, lays a great deal

of money fast, which could be much better employed. The gross rents do not pay more than twelve or fourteen per cent: certainly, there are no taxes, but wooden houses are continually wanting repairs, and require a coat of paint every twelve months.

The premium for insuring this sort of buildings, which is done in England, is also very high. At the end of the year, when the landlord receives his rent, and reckons up his outgoings, I am convinced he will not have cleared six per cent. on his money, which if properly employed in other pursuits, where he has the opportunity of returning it two or three times within that period, he would have made cent per cent of it. Again, a certain loss attends all buidings when resold, especially these built of so perishable a material. I am so far satisfied on this point, that I would recommend any merchant going out, to hire—not to build; and thereby profit by other men's experience.

The labor of mechanics is with us extravagantly dear. A negro carpenter, or mason, earns from five to ten shillings a day according to his skill. Perhaps it would answer to send out from Europe a company of practised builders, under the command of an able architect, who might undertake, first at Stabroek, then at New Amsterdam, the constructions requisite. Houses could be built by them for half price, and usually

yield so high a rent in new countries, that it might be worth the while of European merchants to advance the capital requisite for their structure: it would supply in the form of rent, a secure and a liberal interest. The principal material used is North-American lumber, of which the market-value fluctuates much: it is thought that down the river Orinoko this material might be fetched at a cheaper rate. I have known the price of lumber vary from six to twenty pounds per thousand feet; the demand indeed exceeds the quantity imported, for which reason the latter price is nearer the standard. Lime is a vast expence, being brought to us from Europe: surely a little search in the interior would discover lime-stone rocks among the mountains. Dutch terras sells for twenty pounds sterling the hogshead. A house of 40 feet long and 28 wide, to be well finished, with outbuildings, two stories high with an attic, and raised on a brick foundation eight feet high, costs here at a moderate calculation two thousand five hundred pounds, besides the lot of land, which if conveniently situated could not be had for less than two hundred pounds. The town was originally laid out in lots of one hundred by two hundred feet, many of which, small as they appear, have been divided into quarter and half lots. These lots are continually increasing in value, but they do not form, as in the North-american cities, habitual objects of stock-jobbing and of mercantile speculation. This art of selling the ground on which a house stands, without selling the house, or the right of living in it, has the me-

rit of rendering circulable a greater portion of the fixed property of a country, and thus facilitates the obtainal of capital for every sort of enterprize.

The police is very strict, and as the laws are Dutch, so are the names of the officers of justice. The Fiscal is the chief magistrate, who has under him the Drossart (sheriff or jailer) and twenty Dienaars (constables or servants of justice). Negroes guilty of improper conduct in the streets, or of being out after eight o'clock of the night without a passport, are committed to the jail, where they remain until liberated by their owners, when they receive such a punishment as their fault deserves. Very exorbitant fees are attached to the jail and jailer. The following is a correct list of the charges:

			s.	d.
Arresting a Negro	f. 5 : 10	or	9	6
Admission	5 : 10	or	9	6
Seven days maintenance at 10d per day,			5	10
Flogging			9	6
Discharge			9	6
		£	2	3 10

The law permits only thirty-nine lashes at a time, unless for a capital offence, when the culprit is tried openly by the court, which adjudges and passes sentence if he is proved guilty.

There are about fifty negroes belonging to the colony, whose houses are at the back of Stabroek. These negroes are for the common good, and their employment is to keep the town, streets, sewers, and canals, in good repair. Several of them are convicted criminals, and instead of being transported to Botany Bay, or any other place, are sentenced to work in chains about Stabroek; while the owners receive a stipulated sum from the colony funds for them. This is certainly a disgrace to the court of police. To see these poor miserable objects, our fellow creatures, working from morning till night in heavy chains, without regard to weather, destitute of cloaths, with only a coarse rag round their middle, and, as I am told, frequently with nothing but dry plantains to eat. About half a dozen pipes are attached to the gang; when one poor fellow has taken a few whiffs, he passes it to another, and so on. I am not going to object to the punishment of criminals, on the contrary, let them meet their deserts. There is moderation in every thing, and when the court of justice condemned these poor people to labour in chains, it was not intended to deprive them of all the comforts of human life. Therefore I blame the court of police for not making their servant, the scavenger, do his duty in providing for the wants of these negroes, at least suitably to their situations. At all events suffering chained negroes to work in Stabroek I consider as improper. It is a common saying that custom familiarizes every thing. Here however I must differ, for notwithstanding I was in the habit of seeing

them every day for almost seven years, I never could be reconciled to such proceedings; my heart and feelings recoiled against them, as inhuman. I now suggest the idea to his Excellency Governor Bentinck, to have these negroes with fifty or sixty more who are employed at the fortification, taken farther into the interior; let them be well fed and cloathed, and made more comfortable than they are at present. There they may clear the country, cultivate a track of land for the colony, and the proceeds of their industry would not only keep in repair the town, but improve it.

The only charitable institution supported by the colony is the hospital in Labourgade, which takes in a certain number of patients through the medium of directors. They are people unable to defray medical expences, and principally consist of seamen, and free people of color from other parts of the West Indies, and only transient residents.

The whole face of the country presented a gratifying view of hospitality and munificence on my arrival, and when acts of bounty were necessary, the inhabitants seem to vie with each other in their liberality. I could bring forward many instances of their charitable acts; however a few will suffice. A widow and two children were left destitute by the death of the husband and father, whose only means of supporting them depended on his exertions, while alive; a private subscription

was entered into for their relief, and nearly five hundred pounds were raised, which enabled them to return to their mother country. An artillery-man belonging to his Majesty's forces, while bringing a vessel to, at Fort William Frederic, by some mismanagement had his arm broken, and so much shattered as to cause immediate amputation; a purse of two hundred and forty or fifty pounds was made up for him just before his leaving the colony. Some Spanish prisoners, taken in one of the piccaroon boats from the Orinoko, were brought into the Demerary last war in a most dreadful situation, being in want of shoes and stockings and cloaths of every description. Previously to their being exchanged, a subscription was made among some of the merchants, and fifty Joes, nearly one hundred pounds, were collected and laid out for them. Various other acts of benevolence might be adduced.

A fund which is daily encreasing called the "*Kirk en arm geldt,*" or church and poor money, is derived from a per centage duty on all sales by auction. As it has been accumulating for a number of years, there are no means of judging of the probable amount, except by an investigation of the accounts of those persons who are the receivers of it. This ought immediately to be done by the court of police, and that amount, joined to the overplus of any other colonial fund, would form a considerable capital, which might be lent to new settlers at six per cent interest per annum, for the ex-

press purpose of commencing cultivation in the interior of this vast tract of valuable territory. It would evidently be the means of forwarding three objects—*that of encreasing the fund; that of serving individuals; and that of encouraging agriculture, by enabling planters with small capitals, to extend their pursuits beyond the sea coast, and banks of the rivers and creeks.*

This point merits consideration; and I strongly recommend it to the notice of the governor and council. Should they not attend to it, our present judicious ministers will, I hope, when the colonies are permanently attached to Great Britain, take such measures as to carry so desirable a plan into execution. The sum expended for support of the poor is nothing. *We have none!* at least that are dependent on the colony. The church establishment is very trivial, there is only one English and one Dutch clergyman, and to prove how very tolerant the inhabitants are, they all use the same church. The Dutch service is read from ten till eleven on a Sunday morning, when the Dutch congregation retires, and makes room for the English one.

The high duty on glass bottles in Great Britain is taken off when exported, and from the immense number of them which are imported with malt liquor into these colonies, they become valueless; indeed they accumulate so fast that people are often glad to get rid of them by throwing them into the ditches

and trenches about town. The canals abound with bottles, as if natural to the soil, and the free negroes, who make spruce beer, go round the town with baskets to pick them up. Any gentleman who wishes to bottle off a pipe of grey beard Madeira, has nothing to do but send his servants round the town, or a boat alongside any of the shipping, where they may be supplied with bottles in abundance, and have thanks for taking them away, which saves the steward and cabin boy the trouble of throwing them into the river, which they would rather do than land them in England, where the duty would be more than they are worth. On my return to England the other passengers and myself threw into the sea between forty and fifty dozen bottles, emptied in the course of the passage; it was a fund of amusement on a calm day, after throwing in a bottle as a mark, to see who could break it first with others.

The packets are calculated to arrive at Barbadoes twice a month, whence the mails are conveyed to the different islands and colonies in mail boats engaged for that purpose. How anxiously the arrival of them is expected, is better experienced than described: the merchant and planter desirous of obtaining information of their shipments; the politician wishing to know the state of affairs in Europe; and those of a more domestic turn, solicitous about their families, are all gratified by their arrival, and are alike impa-

tient till the hour is come, which the tardy post-master has appointed for the delivery of letters and news papers.

A weekly paper is published here, entitled the Essequebo and Demerary Gazette. The proclamations of government are inserted both in the Dutch and in the English language. Some diverting mixtures of dialect occur in the advertisements: but the English language is constantly gaining ground, as the new settlers all bring that dialect. The European and other news is given in English, and is extracted, as may happen, from the Barbadoes, the Liverpool, the London, or the Baltimore papers. The mass of advertisements respects sales of slaves, of stores, and of estates.

The state or court house is a large white building, about one hundred feet long and thirty-five feet wide, and two stories and a half high. It is situated on the side of the river in front of Stabroek, one end facing the river to the westward, and the other one east. On the second floor is the council chamber, court of justice, and Secretary's office, where the colonial business is transacted. The business of the Secretary's office is done by the Colonial Secretary and six or eight clerks. All deeds, contracts, wills, letters of attorney, transfers of estates, mortgages, the proceedings of the courts of police and justice, are recorded here. The Secretary is also a notary public, and a sworn translator.

The public offices in Stabroek are numerous; but, as buildings, they present nothing very striking in architectural grandeur or beauty; a sameness of wooden houses pervades the whole town. The best is the governor's office, where there are two clerks and a private secretary employed. As is customary, the captain and myself waited on his excellency, accompanied by the gentleman to whom I was addressed, and presented him with a copy of the manifest, after signing which, he issued a permission, which was to be given in at the custom-house, authorizing the captain to break bulk. On my being introduced to him, he received me very politely, asked me jocosely if I was a descendant of the famous Lord Bolingbroke, and expressed himself highly pleased with that nobleman's literary works, saying that he had them in his library.

All official documents and colonial papers pass through the governor's office, and for every time he signs his name, his *private* secretary receives two dollars, for which he no doubt accounts to the principal. Evidences given before the courts of justice are in the form of affidavits, which must be made before his excellency. Passports for people leaving the country, permissions for ships to load or discharge, powers of attorney, and various other papers of a similar tendency, must undergo his signature: thus, beside suffering a previous tax from the office, out of which they are first granted, they

are burthened by paying for the governor's signature. No wonder our West Indian governors grow rich, when they have such opportunities.

The office next in importance is the secretary's, where eight clerks are employed in recording deeds, contracts, wills, mortgages, transports, powers of attorney, and notarial protests, in issuing passports and advertising departures. The proceedings of the different courts are also registered here, and translations made from the Dutch to the English language; all the proceedings of the court being Dutch, an Englishman is frequently obliged to have their decrees and sentences translated for him. This is a mortifying and under the present distribution of property, an inconvenient regulation for the colony. Surely it would be wise to appoint a Recorder, graduated in the English inns of law, for the avowed purpose of preparing in these courts of justice, the reception of the language and forms of proceeding of the metropolitan country. He would know how to select for the especial sanction of his majesty's privy council, those few Dutch regulations which are interwoven with the subsisting constitution of property, and may therefore require to be retained. There are two receivers, whose department it is to receive the colonial taxes and sovereign's fees, duties, and imposts. Our chief magistrate, the fiscal, has his office in Labourgade. He is empowered by the laws to see them put in force and strictly adhered to,

with the power of levying fines and committing to prison; he is similar in one point of view to the attorney-general of England, as being advocate for the crown. Appeals can of course be made from his award, to the court, and from the court (if a cause of sufficient consequence) to the king in council. The fiscal has under him, as officers of justice, the drossart and dienaars; the former, as we before observed, acts as sheriff or head jailer, and the latter as constables or watchmen, who have charge of the jail and police.

We had the honor of paying our respects to the fiscal, with whom we left a list of the crew and passengers, with an account of their age and place of nativity. A fine of one thousand guilders being inflicted on the captains of vessels for every person they land without giving in his name and description, and the like fine being levied for every such person who is taken from the colony in any ship or vessel without a passport, this law is very necessary to be known. The consignee of every vessel is obliged to enter into a bond at the secretary's office, for the full performance of these stipulations on the part of the captain.

I cannot leave the fiscal's office without relating a ridiculous anecdote of Mynheer Van den V——, when that gentleman filled the employment. A planter one day meeting him on the public road between Stabroek and Mahaica, who had a pri-

vate pique against him, accosted and requested to know what the amount of the fine would be to give a man, who had treated him ill, a good beating. The fiscal replied it would be one hundred and fifty guilders, for which sum he would insure him against all law proceedings. The planter immediately paid him the stipulated amount, and requested the astonished fiscal to alight, that he might take his revenge; which he refusing to do, the planter held the horse's bridle with one hand, while he horse-whipped the fiscal with the other. Mynheer Van den V—— was so completely ashamed of his disgrace, that he pocketed the affront with the fine, without taking any steps to gain redress. It happened in 1798, and the planter who performed the achievement was a creole of Barbadoes.

The business of the exploiteur's, or what I believe is termed in English the marshal's or bailiff's, office is to serve citations or summonses, execute arrests, levy executions, and put in force all sentences adjudged by the courts. There are offices for the colonial book-keeper, harbour-master, colonial surgeons and branch pilots, as established by the police.

The post-office is both badly and extravagantly conducted as to charges, and deserves the immediate notice of the court of police, to fix and arrange a proper tariff to guide the post-master for the future.

As to the custom-house, I despair of reducing its exorbitant charges, as the officers who have the conducting of it, reign lords paramount there, uncontrouled by either governor, or council. The charges of clearing a vessel are enormous; for British ships loaded and bound to England, from sixty to seventy pounds, in proportion to their tonnage and cargo. To Americans and neutrals the charges are in the same proportion doubled; independently of the duty, they pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on one, and 5 per cent. on the other. The comptrollers and collectors of his Majesty's customs in these colonies are in very lucrative situations, capable of making large fortunes in a short time. But the burden on commerce greatly transcends, I fear, the profits of the revenue: so that a commutation of all custom-duties for a tax on the estimated rent of the cultivated land would probably be found, both to the state and the subject, a profitable change.

The vendue-master's appointment is also very lucrative. This is an office under government, similar to an auctioneer; there being but one allowed, and authorised, which makes the place so very valuable. The percentage on sales according to law is not more than 5 per cent, but the additional or incidental expenses make it ten. The principal people who attend these sales are Dutchmen, and the bottle of gin and glass are handed about so briskly, that the fumes mount into their heads, and give their tongues such volubility, that they

scarcely know or care or hear what they buy. A drunken man, it is said, sees double; and I believe it is frequently the case with them, after too great an indulgence in gin, and smoaking, which is quite common at all these sales, that they often purchase bargains for twice as much as they are worth. Therefore it answers at all times, and especially at the evening auctions, to provide plenty of drams and segars. The vendue-masters of Demerary are only deputies themselves, yet they employ another deputy to transact their business in the neighbouring colony of Essequebo, who pays them one thousand pounds per annum as a fee rent of the office.

The paper money which is in circulation in Essequebo and Demerary amounts to about one hundred thousand guilders. The smallest amount is 5d. sterling, or one bit, and the largest 5s. viz. three guilders. The notes are curiously denominated with little figures, that the negroes may know the amount, without being subjected to impositions from not being able to read. They are current all over the colonies, and were made to obviate the difficulty of obtaining small change; when a person has got a quantity of them, he may turn them into gold by applying at the receiver's office for colonial taxes, whence they are issued again. The colonial currency is like that of Holland, and consists of pennings, stivers, and guilders, though the coin in circulation is various. Guineas are worth twenty-five per cent more here than in England.

16 pennings make 1 stiver, viz. 1d. sterling
5 stivers — 1 bit — 5d.
20 do. or 4 bits — 1 guilder — 20d.
12 guilders, which is the par of exchange, make 20s.

The coins, beside those enumerated above, are dollars 5s. each; gold Portugal coins, called ducats, 9s. each; moidores, 18s. and johannes, or joes, which are 36s.

Although the par of exchange is twelve guilders to the pound sterling, it frequently varies according to the demand for bills on Great Britain, or the quantity of specie which is in request. In the former instance I have known government bills on his majesty's treasury to sell for fourteen guilders the pound, which is equal to 1l. 3s. 4d. and even good private bills have sold at the same rate. In the latter case, when a want of specie obliges the planters to value on their correspondents, their bills have only sold for eleven guilders and eleven guilders and a half.

Merchants wanting to remit, always prefer shipping produce, in preference to buying bills at the high exchange of 14 guilders, as there is the same chance of that getting to a good market, and probably giving a profit, while the bill transaction incurs a certain loss of sixteen and two-thirds per cent. at the first outset.

The laws oblige every man from the age of sixteen to fifty, to enrol himself in the burgher militia; they are liable to be called out when the governor thinks proper; the officers are appointed by the court of police, they are commanded by a lieutenant-colonel; their service extends no farther than preserving the internal tranquillity of the country, but in the last war, a number of British subjects volunteered their services, and were inrolled to act under the military commandant. On the British taking possession of the colonies this present war, a company of volunteer riflemen were formed, and on the arrival, in 1805, of the combined fleets in the West Indies, between three and four hundred of the burgher militia stepped forward, and offered their services to defend the colony against any attacks of the enemy. Every body now in town and country armed; every estate on the sea coast provided a trusty negro, who was armed with a pike and cutlas; a troop of cavalry was formed, and a company of volunteer artillery was also added to the military force. The garrison is generally one thousand or twelve hundred strong. Four hundred seamen can always be had from the merchant ships in the river, by whom, with about six hundred volunteers, and one hundred pioneers, a good defence might be sustained. But the greatest bulwark lies in the shallowness of the entrances into the river, and the numerous mud banks and flats which run along the coast; and as there are signal staffs from the Berbice to the Demerary (which ought to be continued

across the Essequebo to the Pomaroon) the garrison is soon apprized of an enemy being off the coast. It may be fairly asserted that with the natural and acquired strength of the country, and while the colonists are so favourable to Great Britain, an effectual defence may be made against six or eight thousand men. Such is the advantage possessed by the inhabitants when they wish to preserve the colony to its possessors.

In the country, every officer of militia is a justice of the peace, and has under his jurisdiction, a certain division of the country to which he is attached; these divisions are known and distinguished by different coloured banners under which they are arranged. They are termed burgher officers, issue proclamations, receive depositions on tax schedules, and are the active men in quelling disturbances, for which purpose they have a disposable force in the embodied militia of inhabitants.

Since the introduction of volunteering, military funerals have usually been allotted to the whites: but the respect and attention paid at funerals of free people, and even of negroes, is very considerable. Not only all their relatives, but strangers feel it an incumbent duty to go. If a coloured free person dies in Stabroek, the remains are followed to the grave by every one in town. I have seen upwards of two hundred people of color followers. They are either in white muslin

dresses, or deep black mourning, according to whether the deceased is female, or male. Before the solemn procession takes place, the company refresh themselves with scalt wine and cake. The coffin, which though merely covered with black cloth and lined with linen, costs twenty-five pounds sterling, is conveyed in a hearse, attended by twelve bearers, then the clergyman, mourners, and followers.

CHAPTER IV.

STABROEK CONTINUED—FORM OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE GOVERNMENT—VITIOUS CONSTITUTION OF THE COURTS OF JUSTICE——ECCLESIASTIC JURISDICTION——ORPHAN-CHAMBER—SALARIES OF OFFICE—CUSTOM-HOUSE RETURNS—CONTIGUOUS VILLAGES—CLIMATE.

THE laws in force in the Dutch colonies were moulded on the Roman or civil code, tempered and revised as the respective governors and council thought fit, guided by local circumstances and experience. The burghers, or inhabitants, have the chief appointment of the administrators of justice, through the body of keizers, who are their representatives, and are regularly elected for that purpose, by the planters and merchants. All those possessing twenty-five negroes are entitled to a vote. There is no dissolution whatever of this body, but as fast as the members drop off, either by death or absence, notice is issued by the governor for electing others in their stead. This is done by sealed notes containing the votes, which are left at one of the public offices. The whole number of keizers consists of six only for each colony; and when any vacancy takes place, the English party being the strongest, use

their influence in electing one of themselves, to maintain their majority in the college, as it is termed. A knowlege of the Dutch language is not necessary to obtain a seat in it. The governor is president of this body, with the privilege of a casting vote. The province of the college not only extends to the appointment of members for the courts of police and justice; but to the financial department of the colony, so far as regards the proper distribution of taxes raised for the internal improvements. It is similar, in some degree, to the British house of commons. The appointments in this college of keizers are not enough rotatory. So many proprietors speculate on returning eventually to Europe, that seats for life are neither coveted, nor natural. The number of keizers is too limited: they should bear some proportion to the number of estates under cultivation, and increase with the increase of voters. No doubt when peace returns, some uniform system of electing the administrative bodies will be applied to the whole coast of Guyana; in which the commercial interest, as well as the landed, will be allowed to take a due representative share.

A court of justice, which consists of six members and the governor, sits every other month at the court house, and decides on all causes laid before them according to the evidence produced. The ability of council on either side, has too frequently an opportunity of biassing the opinion of the court; from the members not having received a regular judicial course

of education, they are sometimes fatally deceived by designing artifices and quibbles in law, which, by litigious characters, are considered as good posts of defence, or a fair channel for offensive operations. From the sentence of this court, there is, however, fortunately, an appeal to the mother country, either to their high mightinesses in Holland, or to the king in council in England, to which ever sovereignty the colony happens to owe its obedience.

The commissary court has only three members, who meet every month to decide on small causes, for debts not exceeding six hundred guilders, or fifty pounds sterling, and for granting licenses to parties intending to marry. Those, who approach the altar of hymen, are principally people of color, who, in conformity with the laws, are obliged to receive permission from this ecclesiastical court, for which they pay the extravagant fee of one hundred and ten guilders. They are also obliged to have the intended marriage advertized in the colonial gazette. This form of marriage, though strictly binding under the colonial law, seldom or ever satisfies without having recourse to a clergyman. An English gentleman, who was on the eve of marrying a Dutch lady, attempted to break through this law, and intended to be married according to the established form of the church of England; when the vice-president of the court, fearing he should lose his fees, very charitably informed him, that, if he deviated in the least from the established rule, he would publish throughout the

colony, their living in a state of incontinency, and the illegality of the marriage.

No persons are of age, or considered capable of acting for themselves, until they have attained the age of twenty-five; at which time they are authorized to take possession of any estate, or legacy, left them. The laws do not admit of a partial division of property from parents to children, but an equal distribution is made among the whole—the younger claims with the elder an equal portion. The weeskamer's office, or orphan-chamber, administers the affairs of orphans, and of those persons who die intestate. The appointment to this office is a valuable one, and seems to be entirely overlooked by our ministers.

The fiscal is the chief magistrate, public accuser, and attorney-general, to prosecute in all cases for the sovereign. He has, beside a stipulated salary, a proportion of all fines he levies on the inhabitants, which is a discretionary power confided to him, whence there is no other appeal than to the court of justice, the expenses of which are so enormous as to induce appellants to forgo this method of redress in favor of making a composition with the fiscal, who is generally inclined to receive one-third in ready money, rather than throw it into the court, where the seeds of litigation are so completely sown, as to make it dubious when the whole would be recovered. From the preceding statement it will ne-

cessarily occur, that the fiscal must be well versed in the Dutch laws; he fills up that sort of place in our municipal constitution, which is occupied by the recorder of an English corporation. This appointment, exclusive of perquisites, is estimated at three thousand pounds yearly. The governor's salary is supposed to amount to - £6,000 or £8,000

That of the secretary, farmed to a deputy for	1,000	worth	3,000
Receiver of colonial taxes - -	800	ditto	2,000
Receiver of king's dues - - -	500	ditto	1,500
Vendue master - - -	1,000	ditto	3,000
Exploiteur - - -	1,000	ditto	3,000
Post master and naval officer, each -	800	ditto	2,000
Harbour master - - -	500	ditto	1,500
Collector and comptroller of customs, each	1,000	ditto	4,000

Beside these, are many subordinate offices in the customs and other departments. The salaries of the custom-house officers vary somewhat according to the exports and imports.

The produce* cleared from the port of Demerary since the last establishment of the British custom-house, is thus recorded:

From the 1st of October, 1803, to the 10th of September, 1804, in 394 vessels.—19,638 hogsheads, 213 tierces, and 151 barrels of sugar; 4,887 puncheons of rum; 46,435 bales of cotton; 9,954, 610 pounds of coffee; and 530 casks of melasses.

* In the appendix will be found a similar statement from the year 1745 to 1785.

From the 10th of September, 1804, to the 5th of January, 1805, in 71 vessels.—2,161 hogsheads, 78 tierces, and 19 barrels of sugar; 504 puncheons of rum; 6,318 bales of cotton; 439,520 pounds of coffee; and 311 casks of melasses.

From the 5th of January, 1805, to the 5th of January, 1806, in 200 vessels.—15,839 hogsheads, 213 tierces, and 129 barrels of sugar; 3,611 puncheons and 17 hogsheads of rum; 21,202 bales and 5 bags of cotton; 2,295,701 pounds of coffee; 1,687 casks of melasses.

From the 5th of January, 1806, to the 5th of January, 1807, in 221 vessels.—19,337 hogsheads, 474 tierces, and 801 barrels of sugar; 4,722 puncheons and 17 hogsheads of rum; 23,604 bales and 2 bags of cotton; 12,390,102 pounds of coffee; and 1694 casks of melasses.

The conduct of the British government with regard to conquered territory, is so strictly praiseworthy, as to require no other commendation from me than to be held out as a contrast with that of our enemies. In the repeated instances in which the English have made themselves masters of these colonies, they have always respected the existing laws and private property. The persons of individuals have been held sacred, and colonial vessels, amounting at the last capture to between five and six hundred, were secured to their possessors; although as

floating property, they might in justice have been claimed by the captors.

Kingston is an English village, contiguous to the fort and camp, consisting of very neat and good houses, painted white, raised on brick foundations, and covered with wallaba shingles instead of tiles. Each house has an allotment of garden ground. This pretty little village first reared its head in April 1796. The officers of the garrison commenced it, since which it has been greatly increased in size and fame, and is become the residence of a number of professional men, and of merchants, who keep their counting-house in the metropolis, Stabroek, and retire here to enjoy the pleasures of relaxation, after the fatigue of business. Situated immediately at the mouth of the Demerary, it has a commanding view, and is quite open to the sea, whence the trade wind, here a regular north-east breeze, pours its refreshing coolness. The society is good of itself, and is enlarged from its adjacency to the camp, as officers with families, prefer residing here to the barracks. The garrison hospital is in this village. It is also noted for the residence of the only English clergyman in the colonies.

Kingston, so called after the capital of Jamaica, is about a mile from Stabroek, and is approached on an excellent carriage road, equal to the turnpikes in England; so indeed are

all the public roads throughout these colonies. The rent of houses in this village is from five to twenty pounds sterling per month. Since it has been built, the changes of its name have been as frequent as the sovereignty of the country. The Dutch, in the short time they reigned, having a perfect detestation against English names, and English things, called it Eveleary. On the British taking the country in 1803, it resumed its other name, which I hope will never be changed by any foreign power.

The adjoining towns to this, are Labourgade and Cumingsburgh, the former are a range of warehouses, or a street, on the bank of the river, eminently situated for shipping produce and landing goods. Several very valuable edifices have been raised here by British merchants for transacting their business with greater celerity. The stores are of considerable size, and mostly serve for the reception of a vessel's homeward-bound cargo. I was engaged in one instance which will prove their utility. The brig Convert, of 150 tons, and cargo, were insured to sail with the October 1800 convoy, and only arriving about a week before it sailed, there was danger of forfeiting the insurance. However, with the greatest exertions, we got her inward-bound cargo out, and completely loaded her again with coffee and cotton, in sixty hours. This unprecedented exertion, however, would have proved fruitless, had not the produce been so conveniently stored on shore.

The most extensive of those warehouses belonging to a mercantile house of great celebrity, cost in building, between ten and fifteen thousand pounds sterling, and, when the colonies were ceded to the Dutch, were offered for sale at one half the original cost, and that in vain; such was the decrease in value of property. In the same street are two ship builder's yards, but the vessels built there do not exceed fifty tons.

Cumingsburgh is situated directly at the back of Labourgade, separated from it by the public road and the Cumingsburgh navigable canal, which is brought from the river, and serves as the means for the merchants to land their goods. This town is two miles in circumference, and the most regularly arranged one of any. Its allotments are large and convenient, and sold on long building leases. There are six principal streets, and as many canals, with others of a smaller denomination thwarting the town. Over each canal are two large bridges for the passing and re-passing of horses and carriages. New buildings are erecting every day, and I am really at a loss to know where the inhabitants come from to fill them; as most of the planters reside on their estates. Indeed they all did until very lately, when some of the richer introduced the refinement of requiring town houses. A planter has a great facility in building; after having made choice of a lot of land for his house; his plantation affords him all the necessary tradesmen; his bricklayer lays the foundation of the house, and builds the kitchen; his car-

penters are employed in the woods in making the frame, which they put up, board in, and complete; he then purchases a few kegs of white lead and jugs of linseed oil, and sets his carpenters about painting it. Therefore, a planter with all these advantages, knocks up a snug little box in three or four weeks, without feeling the expence of it; while a merchant is obliged to go cap in hand to a master carpenter residing in Stabroek, "to know when it will be convenient for him to set about his house, and that he shall feel himself much obliged if he will do it immediately." These master carpenters are very high fellows, make exorbitant bills, and sometimes will not work without being paid before hand. On the whole, I cannot blame them; public carpenters are scarse; they, therefore, like the rest of mankind, know and use their power. The same is true of the blacksmiths, millwrights, masons, coppersmiths, coach and harness makers, or repairers, saddlers, watchmakers, and goldsmiths. It is necessarily the case in all new countries, and as it is the natural order of things, and the cause of inviting fresh settlers, nothing should be urged against it.

Bridge town and New town, both built by the English, lie between Stabroek and Labourgade; the former was built almost wholly by an individual, who, when the demand for houses was so great, made of it an advantageous speculation. It has, however, now degenerated, and is become the mere

residence of hucksters, coloured women, and a low race of creoles and barbadoans. The new town has four principal streets, and may be considered as the Cheapside of London in epitome, for business, merchant's stores, retail shops, goldsmiths, watchmakers, hatters, apothecaries, slopsellers, segarmakers, and in fact, every thing is to be found here which can be purchased in the colony. On each side this town, which was also built by the British, are two canals, the banks of which, when the tide is up, appear like so many wharfs, completely strewed with English manufactured goods, in bales, casks, trunks, or boxes. Here the spirit of business is perceptible: the negroes, clad with blue trowsers and checked shirts, moving to and fro with alacrity, performing those offices, which a white man here and there distributed, dressed in nankeen pantaloons and a fine calico shirt, directs from under an umbrella. Noon generally retards out-door business; as the white men then escape into the house, and leave the negroes to themselves, who, thinking it a good maxim "like master like man," set themselves down to play cards, paupa, and other amusing games, for the love of which they are so distinguished.

In this town there is a large wharf belonging to the merchants, called the American stelling, where small vessels are loaded and discharged. American vessels likewise come alongside to land their horses and cattle. On my first landing

I was much struck with the different shades of coloured people, the mestee,* mulatto,† sambo,‡ and black.

The foregoing towns are to the north-east of Stabroek, the village or town of Werk en Rust, so called after the name of an estate to which the land formerly was attached, joins it to the south-west, and is the residence of a number of merchants in the American business; it is not so well or regularly laid out as the others; besides which, the burial-ground being here, which consists of ten acres, makes it unpleasant; there are but few grave or tomb stones.

Before cultivation extended itself, this part of the country was inundated with deluges of rain; but the seasons, as the land was cleared, soon became more settled, and the rain less heavy. Two wet and two dry seasons complete the year: the former commences in December, and continues January and February, and June, July, and August; the latter occupies the intervening months. In the rainy season the thermometer is generally lower than at other times; the land winds are also prevalent, which are esteemed unhealthy; and the number of mosquitoes which infest all buildings are extremely troublesome, indeed, so much so, that the planter making a new

* Between a white and mulatto. † Between a white and negress.

‡ Between a mulatto and negress.

estate is obliged to be half stifled with smoke to secure a night's rest. Their stings and singing noise are very disagreeable, and the remedy of smoaking them out is thought nearly as bad as the disease. How destructive to insect life is the burning of camphor, was first observed in Sweden: perhaps this, or some other, envenomed vapor, could be employed more efficaciously than wood-smoak.

The dry season may really be termed beautiful: a fine clear blue sky prevails throughout the day, which is seen making its appearance from the east between the hours of four and five; for the morning twilight is gradual and long; whereas in the evening the sun goes out at six instantly, as if covered with an extinguisher, leaving the country in sudden darkness. This striking difference between the duration of the morning and evening twilight probably arises from the sun's rising over the sea, where the moist atmosphere is very refractive, and setting behind high mountains whose shadow has definite limits. The greatest heat is from seven to ten, and is almost intolerable. The sea-breeze then begins to set in, which restores to nature all her animation, and which blows with increasing spirit until dark, but decreases about ten at night.

August is the commencement of the hurricane months in the West Indies: Guyana, however, is but little affected, except by heavy squalls of wind, which do no other injury

than blowing down a few acres of plaintain trees. Large accumulations of clouds are now seen going to the southward—hollow peals of thunder are heard in the interior, and the day generally closes with faint flashes of lightning from the south and south-west.

The length of the days are thirteen hours, and from that to fourteen; no other variation is perceptible throughout the year. Greater variety of climate is to be found here than is generally expected: the range of the thermometer on the sea-coast, in the dry season, which is esteemed the hottest, is from 84 to 90; and at the distance of twenty miles in the interior, the degree of heat seldom exceeds 80 in the warmest part of the day, and in the nights is generally as low as 50 or 60. The mornings come in excessively cold, and with a heavy fall of dew, which, with the swamps and stagnated waters, makes the interior unhealthy to Europeans. The Indians, however, who inhabit these parts, from being accustomed to the soil, enjoy very good health, and are subject to few diseases. Many persons speak of this climate as unwholesome. I have not found it so. In my peregrinations by water to Essequebo and Berbice, which my occupation required, I have frequently been wet through three times within the twenty-four hours, and allowed the same cloaths to dry on me without feeling the least inconvenience: not that I recommend a similar experiment to new arrivers, but, on the contrary, I was

obliged to submit to it through necessity. More depends on the management of ourselves than is generally supposed, and temperance is the soul of our existence. It is adviseable for persons going to the West Indies, to keep their bodies open by cooling medicines, and on their arrival, to be particularly shy of the night air and fogs, which are very unhealthy. It should also be remembered to keep as much out of the sun as possible; too sudden or too lasting an exposure to it, brings on fevers, and other bad consequences.

Some short time after my arrival in Demerary, I went up the river on a visit with my friend to his brother's, who had a sugar estate fifteen miles from Stabroek. It happened to be a very warm day, and after our landing I was induced, though cautioned against it, to take a stroll about the plantation. On my return to the house, I felt a dizziness in my head, and a sickness at my stomach, my eyes rolled about with the most excrutiating pain, and my skin was burning hot. I had scarsely time to explain my situation, and express a wish of going to bed, before I fainted away, and was prevented falling on the floor by one of my friends, who caught me in his arms. On recovering somewhat, I found myself on a sofa, and many persons busied about me in applying harts-horn to my nostrils, and bathing my temples with brandy. I was now hurried to bed, and advised to take a composing draught. After the removal of my stupor, on enquiring into the nature

of my complaint, I was informed it entirely arose from the exercise I had taken in the sun-shine, which generally had the same effect on all new comers for the first few months, until custom, like second nature, had rendered them capable of bearing the rays of light. This circumstance I have given at full length, hoping it will act as a caution to others; for the *coup de soleil*, though so frequent a disease, is not habitually foreseen and provided against. In reading over Dr. Pinckard's notes on Demerary, I observed in several instances, he complained of the unhealthiness of the climate, and especially at the Mahaica post, which is as fine a situation as any the colony affords, and is indeed frequently visited by convalescents for the benefit of the sea air. However, the cause of my wonder soon ceased, by his saying in another place that the soldiers were frequently employed by their officers at that post, to drag nets through the sea to catch fish for their mess, and were sent in open boats up the Creek for fresh water. The being thus exposed to the burning rays of the sun, before they were properly accustomed to the climate, accounts fully for their unhealthy state. And surely new troops but just arrived from England were not capable of bearing a fatigue and exposure, which not even new negroes can always endure, though born nearly in a similar climate.

On my first arrival, the necessity was suggested to me of making immediate application for medical assistance on

any feverish symptoms appearing, or on feeling the least indisposed. In March, 1799, I had been actively employed in the morning receiving and taking account of several boat loads of goods, which were landing from a ship in the river, and very carelessly exposed myself to the sun without an umbrella. About four o'clock in the afternoon, I was taken very ill with a severe pain in my head, and accordingly went to bed. Dr. Dunkin, a man of superior medical talents, and physician to the garrison, attended me in the very friendly manner for which he is so noted, and entered into conversation with me as to the nature of my disease, of which he affected to make light. This conduct was certainly calculated to keep my spirits from drooping, and in fact had the desired effect. My disorder became a bilious fever, which was clearly visible by my very sallow complexion, and the appearance of my eyes and tongue. I looked as if I was turning into a mulatto. Emetics, purges, pills, and bark, were given me in due order, and after four days, I was pronounced to be out of danger, and removed for better air into the country. This was called my *seasoning*, and a more ardent attack of fever had not been experienced for some years by any one. This fact I think will clearly prove the necessity of immediate recourse to medical aid, let the symptoms be ever so trivial; mine was at first merely a head-ache, but if it had been suffered to have passed unnoticed that night, the result I think would have been fatal. I was soon after attacked by

the prickly heat, which is a scarlet eruption; it causes a great deal of itching, but is considered as friendly to health.

As persons of bilious habits are frequently assailed with a sickness at their stomachs, they ought to be very careful in their diet, and avoid every thing which is uneasy of digestion, or likely to create bile. A few drops of oil of orange, or of Stoughton's bitters, taken in a glass of wine, are reputed to strengthen the stomach, and create an appetite. Good and sumptuous living is necessary here for the support of the system, and to supply the waste of strength occasioned by the daily exertion and the incessant perspiration. Though only two meals are taken in a day, yet they will be found to exceed almost any four eaten in England.

The yaws is a most dreadful disorder. It has much the appearance of the small pox from the manner of its coming out. The patient is covered with large ulcers in every part of his body and limbs, and, as it is very infectious, he keeps by himself. Its duration is uncertain, being sometimes from twelve to eighteen months, during which, the eruption returns no less than three times. No effectual cure has, I believe, ever been found for it. Salivation will drive it in, but sulphur, and other opening medicines, are now preferred, to induce its coming out. Spare diet, with exercise, and nature's being left to herself, often prove the best resource. This

is a disease which a person can never have but once. I have seen only one instance of a white man's having it: therefore it appears almost peculiar to the negroes. There are black women who inoculate their children for this disorder; its violence is thereby lessened.

The stings of musquitoes or gnats, I found very disagreeable, as they are succeeded by large red pimples, the scratching of which frequently occasions so many ulcers. These insects always attack new comers in preference to others. Lime juice and water is found to be the best preservative against their attacks, as also a cure for their stings: I used to bathe my hands and feet with it before going to bed.

The chigoe, or jigger, is a sort of flea harboured in the sand, that gets between the skin and the flesh, but oftener under the toe-nails, where in a short time it becomes as large as a pea, when it assumes the form of a bladder, in which are deposited many hundreds of eggs, that in the process of time come to so many young chigoes. But before they arrive at this state of maturity, a most intolerable itching is felt, which is the signal for extracting them. The negroes are very expert at doing it with a sharp-pointed penknife, and the great art is to take out the bladder without breaking, when the cavity is filled up with tobacco-ash, or snuff. Sand-flies are a very small but troublesome insect, scarcely larger than a pin's-head,

though their sting is nearly as severe as that of mosquitoes, but not being quite so fleet they are frequently killed in the attack. A ringworm consists of long scarlet spots in different parts of the body, but they especially make their appearance about the face and neck, and may be prevented from extending, by an immediate application of lime-juice and gunpowder, which is a very painful, but effectual remedy.

CHAPTER V.

STATE OF FARMING IN DEMERARY—CONDITION OF THE NEGRO PEASANTRY—REFORMS SUGGESTED—EXPEDIENCY OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

I Had often occasion to repeat my visits to the hospitable proprietor of the Reynestein estate, and took a pleasure in examining the condition of the peasantry, and the nature of the agriculture. Previously to my leaving England, I had imbibed prejudices against the negroes, and believed them habitually embittered against their masters, and unfit to be trusted a moment; that a white man's life was always in danger, and that it was necessary to make every house a sort of fort, for the protection of its white inhabitants. But I found that the guardians of security and property were the negroes themselves.

During one of my visits on the Reynestein estate, I was astonished after dark by seeing several fires on different parts of the estate: one before the dwelling, another at the windmill, and a third between the poultry house, and sheep pen; which upon enquiry I learnt were made by the negro-

watchmen, who were appointed and stationed every night by the overseer in different directions, to prevent theft.—"All's well," was echoed from one to another, every half hour, till the sound was indistinctly heard issuing from the remote plaintain-walk and provision-grounds, where its reverberation at times seemed to die away. The door of the dwelling-house is always left open during the night, which leaves to the negroes a free ingress and egress to any of the apartments. The watchmen are responsible for every thing; and such is their attention and perseverance in their duty, that it rarely happens any thing is lost. The negroes delight in a low schoolboy sort of drollery, of which an instance may be borne—it bears some analogy to Foote's praise of Calais—there the very children in petticoats can talk French. I one evening left the portico to light my segar at daddy Cudjo's fire, and to see how he was situated. I found him smoaking his pipe, and roasting some salted cod-fish and plaintains for his supper; he had in one hand a calabash of toddy, which he told me was given him by "dat buckra overseer." Upon my asking what toddy was, he uttered an ejaculation, "Kie! massa, you no sabbe what dat be? "Buckra been say neger fool because he no hab sense," (meaning that they could neither write nor read) "and you "here so, one buckra, ask me, poor neger, who no hab "sense, what toddy be—why, massa, he no more than rum "and sugar mixed together with water." This tuition of a

white made all his companions laugh aloud. The poultry-house contained nearly a thousand head of feathered stock, consisting of chickens, turkies, and ducks, which were taken care of and reared by an old negress, whose sole time was dedicated to that: she always counted them morning and night, and gave a tally to the overseer both times, with an account of deaths, losses, and increase, and a circumstantial list of all the laying hens, and of the number of eggs, which were delivered to the dairy-maid. There were only eight or ten sheep in the pen, which were fattened and made ready for the knife, previous to being sent from the sea-coast estate, where the body of the flock, consisting of one hundred and fifty, was kept, as they thrive much better on the saline than on the fresh land of the river. A regular account of these was delivered in, every evening, by the shepherd, as well as of the swine, by the pig-keeper, of which there were between twenty and thirty: as they are apt to do considerable damage on sugar estates, these gentry were obliged to be confined to the stye. Instances are frequent of some escaping into the woods, where they live wild, and their increase has been immense. They are at chance times to be shot, which is the only way of taking them. The other stock which attracted my notice, were some goats, and between twenty and thirty head of cows: the former provide milk for coffee, the latter supply the family with butter; besides which, bub, or

milk punch, made under the cow, is very much used. When there is a sufficient quantity immediately after the cows have calved, the young negro-children are regaled with a mess of milk each for their breakfast.

Oxen are bred for the butchers, the gain arising from which, is generally sufficient to pay all colonial taxes. Rearing stock on an estate is here highly profitable, but more especially horned cattle, and those planters who lay out a small proportion of their capital that way, and have good pasturage, find their account in it. I knew an instance of ten heifers being purchased out of a cargo brought from the Cape de Verd Islands; four died immediately, the other six were grazed six months, and then sold for double the amount the original ten cost. There is little fear but these colonies will in a short time raise more stock of every kind than can possibly be used, which will be the means of making living considerably cheaper here, and of preparing a new source of supply for the West India islands. The fine savannahs in the interior, present a field for graziers which even North America cannot boast of. What is the case in the Orinoko? Beef sells for three-halfpence per pound, and the cattle are allowed to run wild in the savannahs. Mules are already bred here in great abundance, and are the finest in the world; nearly all the West Indies are hence supplied with those animals.

But the great article of cultivation is sugar. New land cleared of the bush is unfit to be immediately planted with the sugar-cane; it generally yields two or three crops of plantains in the first instance, which prepares the soil for sugar. The land is then laid out in ridges, something like the wheat fields in England; and the cane plants, which are propagated by cuttings about six inches long, are then placed between two of these ridges, at regular distances, and lightly covered with earth. The sugar-cane comes to perfection in twelve, fourteen, or sixteen months, according to the soil or season, in which time the fields are weeded and cleaned three or four times. The average size of the cane at its full growth is nine feet long, and four or five inches in circumference. I have sometimes seen canes thirty feet in length and thick in proportion, but they do not make the best sugar; the land which yields them is too rich; and it is a curious fact, that every crop of canes, for the first twenty-five years, improves successively, and yields a better quality of sugar. I have before observed, that the canes are transported from the fields in flat-bottomed boats to the mills, where they are ground. The liquor extracted is received into a cistern, whence it is conducted by spouts to the boiling-house, a large building one hundred feet long and thirty feet wide, where it is received into a large copper, called the clarifier. It is next boiled, and all the skum and filth is taken off by copper skimmers. It is then tempered with lime, which gives it substance, and is

ladled into four other coppers, undergoing in each a thorough skimming and boiling. At length it is conveyed by a wooden gutter into the cooler, where it remains until it is about blood-warm, and is then put into the hogsheads in the curing-house, which is adjoining, and has in it a large platform, on a slope, capable of containing two hundred hogsheads of sugar. The molasses generally continue running from the sugar a fortnight after it is made. On the platform, or starling, are proper channels for conducting it into cisterns. Every sugar estate has its own negro coopers, who make the puncheons and hogsheads requisite for the rum and sugar. Mr. George Brumell informed me, that his coopers got the staves and hoops from the forests at the back of his own estate, but that most planters still imported them from North America.

The materials used for making rum are molasses, skimmings, and water, which, after fermentation, are distilled. A planter expects eighty gallons of rum for every hogshead of sugar which his estate produces, averaging about twelve hundred pounds. The rum made on a sugar estate is generally calculated to pay all its expences.

The distillation of rum has been carried to a high state of perfection, by the persevereance and skill of several scientific men, who have succeeded in making the Essequebo and Demerary rums as much in request, in the American market, as

that from Jamaica is in England. From the method of manufacture, a richness of flavor adheres to them, which is seldom found in the island rums; and I am convinced, when they are more known and noticed in these markets, they will be more esteemed. It was at first with the greatest difficulty the Americans could be induced to take the Demerary rum, as they were so much prejudiced in favor of the Jamaica, but at this time three-fourths of our rum is shipped to North America, and in preference. The liqueurs manufactured in the French islands surpass, however, for delicacy of flavor, any of our efforts in distillery. The labors occasioned by the make of sugar are the hardest and most unpleasant to which the negroes are exposed: yet such toils would be laughed at by the workmen of an English foundery.

When a negro is purchased, and attached to any estate, he acquires a right of settlement thereon. In sickness and in health, in his young and old age, he is alike treated, maintained, clothed, and lodged. Often have I contemplated with inexpressible pleasure, a grey-headed negro and his wife, sitting at the door of their cottage, fondly protecting and enjoying the active sports of their grand-children, while the parents have been engaged pursuing their respective occupations in the fields. All the old settled estates can boast of having reared negroes of three and four generations; but the mass of cultivated lands having been populated within the little

space of ten years, there does not appear on them an increase proportioned to the number of negroes in the colony. Great allowances must be made for new settlers—beginning with a small capital, their chief aim was to cultivate the land, not to increase the population: for that purpose they bought men-slaves, as being best adapted for clearing heavy forests of trees, digging trenches and drains, &c. That being done, they then turn their attention to the domestic wants of the men, and purchase a lot of women to supply them with wives; each makes his choice, and the business is settled. The man works over hours, saves his money, and buys for his wife extra articles of wearing apparel and finery. As a couple, they generally live happy, and are very tenacious of decorum; but in the rare case of any inconstancy on the part of the female, a complaint is preferred to the manager, or proprietor of the estate, and a separation takes place, which gives to the parties a liberty to make another choice. Some negroes on my friend's estate, not being able to accommodate themselves from the collection of females already upon it, and desirous of having wives, were sent for to Stabroek, and taken to a sale-room, where a cargo of negroes was just landed, and there made choice of wives, which their master paid for. Two chose pretty women, and the third an ordinary one. On my asking him why he did not like a handsome wife, he replied, "No, massa, me no want wife for handsome, me want "him for do me good, and for work for massa as well as me."

She was a stout strong woman, and turned out much better than the other two.

On the Reynestein there are an unusual number of creole children, which may be accounted for from the attention and care which are paid them in their infancy. I have seen eight or ten round their master's chair at breakfast or dinner, having their platters filled: there are generally some pets of the kind on every estate; but this proprietor was particularly fond of the children, and used to enjoy their antic nakedness. Their sports agreeably recall the basso-relievos of antiquity. Children born in these regions are less helpless than in Europe: they display stronger symptoms of innate intelligence, and learn much earlier to take care of themselves. The nakedness, in which they are so long left, contributes no doubt to their acquiring a freer use of the limbs, and an earlier communication of idea by gesture.

A negro, in the enjoyment of social happiness, having his wife and children, a garden, his goats, pigs, and feathered stock to attend to, feels a degree of interest in the estate, which would scarcely be expected from an emigrated African. By being transported to a new soil, and a more civilized country, these people become more humanized, more enlightened; their minds undergo a new formation, and they are enabled to distinguish

the good treatment they receive here, from the arbitrary and unrelenting mandates of the petty kings and princes in their own country, where they are subject to be butchered like a parcel of swine. Better, sure, are the Africans under the West India planters, protected as they are by the colonial laws, transplanted into a settlement, where their industry and talents will make them useful members of the community, than abandoned to the cruel and rude tyranny of an uncivilized master in their own country. The severe methods of coercion, formerly used by the West Indian planters, are traditional among the Africans, and resulted from employing negro task-masters. In proportion as white overseers have become numerous, has the treatment improved. During my residence in Demerary, I made it a regular question of enquiry among plantation-negroes, whom I was constantly in the habit of seeing and conversing with at remote places, as my chief occupation consisted in travelling, whether they preferred their own country to this; and I hereby make a solemn asseveration, which will remain upon record, that of several hundreds of negroes, to whom I have put the question at different periods, they have all given the preference to their present situations. I will venture to assert, that, in case of asking all the negroes round in the colonies, there will be found ninety *contents* out of every hundred to whom the question should be put.

I discovered in a singular manner that one of the sailor negroes attached to our establishment, and who had been in Demerary about two years, had seen Mungo Park, in his travels in the interior of Africa. I was going down to Essequebo in the schooner, and, as was my custom, I had put three or four books into my portmanteau, Mungo Park's Travels was among the number; in looking over the vocabulary of the Mandingo tongue, I called Peter, a negro of that nation, and asked him a question in his own language. "Kie! massa, you sabbe talk me country," was the exclamation. I had now an opportunity of proving Mungo Park's correctness, and desired Peter to turn the question I had put to him into English, which he did, with several others, and from their agreeing with the translation, he convinced me that the travels in Africa deserved credit and confidence. However, to prove further, I told Peter what I was reading, when he replied with energy, "massa, me been "see that white man in me country, in de town where me "live, he been come dere one night for sleep, one blacksmith "countryman for me been with him, me been give him rice "for he supper, and soon, soon, in the morning he been go "towards the moor's country." From the earnest manner in which this artless tale was delivered, I was convinced that Peter had seen Mungo Park, the name of the village, and the reception he met with, agreed so exactly with what was narrated, that there could be no doubt of it.

It will be a source of gratification to every philanthropic heart to know, that the greatest evil which the negroes laboured under, in our continental establishments, is nearly, and will in a short time be completely eradicated: I mean the painful punishments: the inflicting of tortures by the rab rack, and the severe floggings with a cart whip. Only one instance of the former has been known since the colonies became British in 1796, and that was authorized by the Dutch laws *now* in force, which are very severe in that respect. A negro had murdered his master, and was accordingly apprehended and given over to the law; upon his trial he was found guilty, and acknowledged his crime. He was sentenced to the rab rack, a horrid machine, with recesses made for the principal joints to be placed in, upon which the criminals are laid out and extended, when they are broken alive by iron bars, and left in that state to linger out a miserable existence, till some one has the humanity to put an end to it. On the day of execution, Governor Beaujon, sent to the commandant of the troops, Lieut.-Colonel Heslop, now general and governor of Trinidad, for a file of soldiers, as a guard to keep in awe the populace. To this gentleman's honor be it remembered, that he resisted the application, and returned an answer similar to this: "That as long as he com-
"manded a British soldier, he would never allow him to be
"present at such an inhuman execution; but that any assist-
"ance which the military could give to the civil government,

"consistently with the honor and dignity of the army, should "not be withheld." This spirited and manly reply to the governor's requisition, shewed at once the disapprobation which the British government entertained for such horrid and cruel treatment of criminals, and has hitherto prevented a repetition of them.

I assert with confidence and satisfaction, that there is not so much flogging on a West India plantation, as there is obliged to be on board our men of war, with the cat of nine tails, to preserve order. The planters feel an interest in exciting emulation among the negroes, and in encouraging them to set examples of industry and order, to the newly imported. It is worthy of remark, that the old seasoned people look with a degree of scorn on the new negroes, because they cannot "talk buckra," and are not so clever and so active as they are, or so familiarized with the customs and manners of their white masters. It was formerly thought necessary for the preservation of good discipline on estates, to correct negroes for every fault which was committed, and the driver's whip was continually cracking to excite fear, and stimulate the poor wretches to work. Different measures have since been adopted, of which experience fully authorizes a continuance, both from the salutary effect which they have had on the negroes, and from their being more congenial to the feelings of British subjects; who, though they have been stigmatized by

the appellation of men dealers, have yet retained those innate principles of humanity and virtue, which induce them to seek every opportunity and occasion to ameliorate the situation of their dependants. Faults are now corrected and punishments inflicted by personal deprivations, according to the extent of the misdemeanor; instead of being flogged, the negroes are debarred their daily portion of rum, or their weekly allowance of tobacco, and in case of the crime being of such importance as to require a severer punishment, they are confined on the Sunday in the stocks, and prevented enjoying the company of their friends, or forbid from joining in the merry dance, which takes place every Saturday night on the estates. If the cook spoils the soup, which was intended for his master's dinner, he is made to eat it, warmly peppered with cayenne. Other domestics acting with impropriety, are sometimes confined, at other times obliged to eat an ounce of Glauber's salts, or to sip them with a tea spoon when dissolved in half a pint of water. This manner of inflicting punishments is more rational than any hitherto adopted, and as long as the negroes are stimulated with a degree of pride and emulation, it will continue to have the desired effect.

An important and a grievous regulation is the non admission of servile evidence in the courts of justice. Why should not negroes be heard against whites, as well as whites against negroes? Veracity is indeed not a conspicuous virtue of the

blacks; they usually make you put a question twice, in order to gain time for framing an answer such as they wish to give; they hold it no obligation to answer truly. Still their testimony should be heard, and compared with circumstances and with other evidence, until it is duly sifted, and appreciated at its probable worth. I am convinced that it would be a useful reform in the jurisprudence of the colonies, to confer on all the shades of complexion an equality of criminal rights. In the islands, the right of inheritance enjoyed by mulattoes is limited to two thousand pounds currency, so that a father cannot provide liberally for his offspring by a negro concubine; no such unjust limitation, as far as I have heard, is included in the Dutch code.

Nor is it alone in the West Indies that negroes require a further degree of legal protection. A friend of mine brought over to this country a negro servant: he landed at Portsmouth, and left Quamin on board the ship to come round to London, to meet him there. We had had a tedious voyage of eleven weeks from Tortola, the last place we touched at, and the general rendezvous for the homeward-bound fleets from the West Indies. Poor Quamin was heartily tired of this long, disagreeable, and dangerous passage, and was anxiously wishing to get on shore, to see a country, to use his own language, "where every body been free, and nobody hab massa." Contrary winds detained the ship longer at Spithead than was wished for. In the mean

time she was frequently boarded by men of war's boats, the first of which, after overhauling the crew, as they term it, and finding them all foreigners with proper protections, being rather chagrined at their disappointment, and not liking to return empty handed as they came, right or wrong, determined upon seizing poor blacky. Notwithstanding the asseverations of the master and crew, that he was a servant belonging to one of the passengers who had landed at Portsmouth, this poor African, who had been on board a ship thirteen weeks from Demerary, and was counting on the pleasures which he had been taught by the crew to expect in England, was inhumanely dragged away, taken on board one of his majesty's ships, and carried a winter's cruize to the north seas, destitute of any cloathing at all suitable to the climate he was compelled to visit. By an application to the Admiralty, aided with considerable interest, a discharge was obtained for him on the vessel's return, when Quamin had again the pleasure of rejoining his master. I saw him a few weeks after, in London. He asked me when I was going to Demerary again, and begged me to request his master would let him go with me, as he did not like England. Notwithstanding here he had a horse to ride, and in Demerary, if his master was going a journey of a hundred miles, Quamin would have to follow him on foot with the portmanteau on his head, he preferred Demerary. The horse and fine living had no charms for him; yonder he was protected—yonder he was free.

The planter, when he purchases negroes out of a cargo, is very careful in what is called the seasoning; they require nearly as much attention as children. Before they are put on to an estate, they have a pair of trowsers, a shirt, jacket, and hat given them; and it is really laughable to see the grotesque appearance they make when dressed up in their new cloaths. They affect to think so meanly of them, that it is often with the utmost difficulty they are induced to keep them: not that they have been used to better, or even to so good, cloathing, but they imagine it gives them consequence, and makes them pass for gentlemen, to affect to despise cloathing, such as is not worn by people in authority. The only thing which is held in estimation by them is a blanket, which is always given them in the first instance to sleep on, until they get a bed. These are mostly stuffed with plantain leaves, as being much cooler than feather beds. Others prefer hammocks, which are made of cotton bagging, similar to those used by our sailors. On their arrival at the plantation for which they were purchased, they are put under the charge of the nurse, who provides food, pipes and tobacco, and every other requisite to give them confidence in their new situation. They are thus encouraged, until they become acquainted with the place and people, when they are employed in trifling jobs about the buildings, until they get a little seasoned to the climate, and become acquainted with the economy of the estate. It is then customary to place them under the care of old negroes, each

taking one, whom he makes his servant, and teaches how to dress his food, and to provide for his wants. From that time they turn out with the gang, and are instructed, by the persons they respectively live with, to work, which is gradually done, and soon becomes familiar, as most of them were slaves in their own country, where they were accustomed to harder toil and less regular meals. The plantation bell rings at nine o'clock for breakfast, for which they have an hour allowed; at one o'clock they come in for their dinner, and have an hour and a quarter; at sun set they return from work, and enjoy themselves at home, with a pipe and their supper, which is a negro's favorite meal. Besides necessary food, the weekly allowance of rum is about a quart, and the weekly allowance of tobacco two pounds; so that the utmost degree of luxury and accommodation, consistent with sobriety, is willingly promoted.

The seasoned negroes keep fowls, pigs, goats, and grow gardenstuff; the tradesmen employ their spare time in making those articles of their several trades which they can sell to advantage. At the close of life they often keep a retale shop. It is by no means an uncommon thing in these colonies, for negroes when they have accumulated a sufficiency, to purchase their freedom; and I have known many instances of negroes, who payed their owners a proportion of the purchase money, and were allowed after emancipation to work

out the balance. The generality of negroes prefer decorating their persons to purchasing their freedom. I have known many negroes who were fond of hoarding up their money, and at their deaths, have left considerable sums; one old woman on a sugar estate, in Essequebo, died possessed of nearly three hundred pounds sterling, which she had acquired merely from raising feathered stock. It consisted principally of joes, dollars, and small change, and was equally distributed between her children, which she had left on the estate.

In general every plantation is visited three times a week by a surgeon, who mostly agrees at two dollars a head yearly to farm the health of the whole population: for this he attends all the sick negroes, and furnishes the requisite medicines. The whites, who require much oftener the interference of the medical practitioner, are often farmed at forty dollars each.*

* I have visited several islands in the West Indies, Grenada, Saint Kitt's, Tortola, &c. the condition of the negro peasantry is every where comfortable, as far as I have observed, and is fairly described in the following letter from Mr. William Finlayson, of Jamaica.

"I had opportunities of visiting the neighbouring estates in the vicinity of my uncle's, being mostly penns, and cotton plantations; the work was light and easy, and I found the proprietors and the white people they employed, kind and indulgent to the negroes. They found it their interest, as well as inclination, to treat the negroes well, and make them comfortable.

The Europeans are a conceited people. They read; and they fancy that every thing can be known from books. They

"They turned out to work a little before sunrise, had half an hour to breakfast and two hours to dinner; the days are generally twelve hours long, as the sun rises and sets with very little variation through the year at six o'clock; and one English labourer would do as much as three of them.

"They had each a lot of land, and a sufficient time allowed to plant provisions, and clean their ground. They have two or three crops of corn in some parts in the year; and abundance of plantains, which, when established, with a little care in keeping them clear from weeds, will continue bearing for twenty years, and are a good, wholesome, substantial food. They raise potatoes, of which there are six or seven different sorts, all very good food, and several sorts of yams, which weigh from five pounds to fifty pounds weight, toyas, or cocoas, several kind, as monkey, black, two good, Otaheite and white cocoa, the middle leaves of the last eat like spinnage, and the roots better than English potatoes; sweet and bitter casava, the latter they grate and press out the juice, which is poison, the flour is made into cakes, the same way nearly that oat-cakes are made, and eat much better. They had good comfortable houses to dwell in, and reared pigs and abundance of poultry. Each family had a garden, well stocked with pease, beans, of which there are a vast variety, and some will bear for a number of years; plenty of greens, pine apples, melons, pomegranates, pumpkins, sour sops, sweet sops, and numerous other fruits, and growed a good deal of tobacco, and oil nuts, which they make the castor oil from. I assert it was customary then, I am speaking of twenty-one years ago, for a negro to sell provisions, garden stuff, tobacco, &c. out of his own grounds, to a greater amount than the generality of the journeymen labourer's or mechanic's wages in England, Scotland, and Ireland. And I no where saw such wretched outcasts as our beggars, and poorer sort of people in England,

undervalue observation, experience, practical talent of every kind. They listen to metaphysical politicians, who without having visited the West Indies, or knowing at all the nature of the people, and of the properties there, think they can direct the tropical planter how best to cultivate, and the assembly of Jamaica how best to legislate. By such vain authors, the English people have been goaded into petitioning their legislature for an abolition of the slave-trade. It is the

Scotland, and Ireland. The old are taken care of by the proprietor, and are never suffered to want; they are found in clothes, salt, salted fish, and herrings; a doctor regularly attends the sick.

"The negro women have great attention paid to them in their lying-in—a proper nurse and midwife attends them, and every thing that is necessary is supplied them from the estate—they do not work for four weeks afterwards, and have nurses to attend them and wash for them during that period. They then turn out to light work considerably later than the other negroes, and have nurses to attend the children; and notwithstanding this care and attention, the children very often die on or before the ninth day, of the lock-jaw. Twenty shillings reward is allowed by the assembly of Jamaica for every child born, and raised upon the estate; and many of the liberal-minded benevolent overseers give this money among the nurses, midwives, &c. as an encouragement. No negro is ever allowed to work in the rain,—and a book-keeper is some years upon trial before he is entrusted with the management of an estate, and if he is passionate and cross to the negroes, no person will employ him. The negroes value very high, some 200l. to 300l. some even 400l. The murder of a slave is felony without benefit of clergy."

trade in free negroes which alone they ought to abolish. The slave-trade is a universal benefit.

Piracies and kidnapping take place on the coast of Africa. The grumetas, or free labourers there, and even persons of a higher rank, are sometimes carried off by the force, or fraud, of the negro crimps. I have by me a piece of Arabic writing, executed by a negro in the colony. I doubt not he was a man of education and consequence in his native country. He was a very clever, sensible man. In his own country he was free, and *said* his father was a king. His owners, who were planters in Berbice, elevated him to a confidential situation on their estate; and he never in the five years that he had been with them when I left the colony, either betrayed their confidence or forfeited their esteem. He was superior to the general run of Africans, and more communicative. Although in his own country he was high in rank, he avowedly preferred his residence in Berbice. This fraudulent enthralment is a horrible injustice, best to be met by establishing a strong police at the English factories in Africa; and compelling the slave-vessels to account for their passengers. The seizing of free blacks, and reducing them to slavery is detestable oppression. As well might the people of Hayti come and kidnap the merchants of Stabroek; and sell them for labourers on the Ohio, where the back-settlers begin to buy indentured whites.

But the great mass of negroes purchased in Africa, are already slaves at home, most miserable slaves, the slaves of savages. They are born, bred in slavery; they have felt, they have known no other lot. Like beasts of burden, they have been used to be sold, worked, flogged any-how; to be coupled at the owner's pleasure with his cast-off concubines; to be tortured for witchcraft when he is sick; to be maimed for his quarrels when he is in heroics; to be left during disease, wounds, or age, to dry into a mummy in the desert; or to be recompensed for exemplary fidelity by being butchered on a master's grave. Of this last usage, the high price given for negroes, has in some degree, occasioned the abolition.

The transfer of such wretches from Africa to America, is a real service. I have conversed with hundreds of negroes, who all consider it as such. Our imported slaves almost universally acknowledge that they have not worse work to do than at home; and that they are better provided with food, with luxuries and indulgences, than in Africa. Their treatment is improved by the removal: the lash indeed is still used, as on board ship, to stimulate labor; but torture, witch-craft, and above all, the despair of bettering their condition, are among the evils withdrawn. Nor is it in Africa only that black slave-owners are the harsher masters. Even a freed negro has so much less humanity of nature than a European, that throughout the West Indies, it is an efficient threat,

employed to tame the disobedient slave, angrily to say: "Damn you, I'll sell you to a black."

If in imitation of those pious Spanish brotherhoods, who collected funds for the ransom of captives, Mr. Wilberforce, and his fellow-friends of humanity, were to form societies for the redemption of slaves, they would soon find it to be a duty to expend their treasure on the coast of Africa. There, languish the most unfortunate of the venal negroes. There, ought to be exerted the first efforts of their far-aimed beneficence. They would select, for priority of emancipation, those, who are likely to live longest and to suffer most. The aged have something of habit that extenuates their woes, and something of prejudice against the very remedy. Women every where incur a mitigated oppression. The feelings of lust are akin to kindness, and always operate in alleviation of exactions. The young and the male therefore ought preferably to be bought loose.

Men can be had cheapest where they are worst off. Hence, the Liverpool merchants, from motives of a more natural and more worldly kind than could influence a Wilberforce, do thus employ, on the African coast, in the purchase of young males chiefly, a larger fund than would be collected for the same purpose by the utmost zeal of christian charity. They redeem annually 36,000 slaves.

It is not of the original orderly purchase of these people, but of their subsequent destination, that philanthropy has to be jealous. From a country, where if they stayed, the parents, or elder brothers, or princes, who sold them, would seize and sell them again, they must clearly be removed; but this with every practicable care for their health and accommodation. The act of parliament which regulated the transportation of negroes, the carrying-trade bill, was an eminently useful law. Nor is it at all less applicable to the trade in natural-born white bond-slaves, conducted from many parts of Scotland,* of Ireland,

* "As the same principles of profit regulated every voyage, the circumstances attending each were in general extremely similar: in some perhaps the inconvenience was less than in others; but the following statement, taken from a judicial proceeding before the court of session relative to a ship that carried passengers from the isle of Sky to Carolina in 1791, is selected both for its publicity and authenticity. 'The vessel was about 270 tons burden—'the number of passengers about 400, including women and children, so that 'their situation was most uncomfortable and dangerous, there being hardly 'room for them to stretch themselves. There were three tiers of beds fore 'and aft, and two midship. The births for a full passenger were 18 inches 'broad. Those fore and aft were only about 2 feet high, including the space 'occupied by bedding, so that it was scarcely possible to creep into them. 'The others were a little higher, so that the passenger could turn himself on 'his side, and rest on his elbow. To add to their calamities, they neither 'had a sufficiency of victuals nor proper cooking utensils, there being only 'two pots of twenty-four pints each, which were quite inadequate to the pre-'paration in any reasonable time of a meal for 400 persons. Had the ves-'sel made out its voyage, the chief part of the people must have been con-

and of Wales, with North America, than to the trade in alien blacks.

An abolition of the African slave-trade, such as has hitherto been solicited, would in fact operate merely as a repeal of this wholesome humane law. The small ships, which now execute the smuggling trade of the West Indies, and which alternately visit the British islands, the Spanish main, and the coast of North America, under any flag best suited for the protection of their immediate purpose, would in that case undertake the slave trade. Colony-craft would supersede the regular vessels. These ships have not dimensions for accommodating passengers in the becoming manner required by the British act of parliament: so that the old horrors of the middle passage would all return. The manner of removing out of Africa the

'sumed by disease and filth, which last was horrible; but after being twelve 'days at sea, the ship was dismasted and put back to Greenock, where many 'of the passengers, especially children, died from the effects of the short 'voyage they had made."

This white slave-trade is conducted under the cover of the laws concerning apprenticeship. The white bond-slave is indentured for seven years to the captain of the passage-vessel, who, on arriving in North America, sells his apprentices at the market-price, and makes over his indentures to the several purchasers. But as the selling-price does not always produce the passage-money, a claim of debt against the apprentice bearing interest, accompanies the indenture; and thus his servitude is prolonged at pleasure, under pretence of working out this debt.

slaves bought there, is no longer susceptible of much improvement; but is in danger of grievous deterioration by whatever tends to shift the commerce into bottoms not subject to the parliamentary regulation.

I still suppose Mr. Wilberforce, and the friends of the blacks, formed into a brotherhood of mercy, and redeeming in Africa, the greatest objects of pity, with a view to provide for their future well-being. I suppose the method of removal acquiesced in, and the place of destination, to be under discussion. These gentlemen would next be desirous of landing their young charges in the countries where labor has the highest value; where moderate industry would secure them a better condition than they quitted; where civil rights are conferred by settlement; and where tutors are provided for the arts of life, who would attentively teach such occupations as may secure not merely their subsistence, but their well-being, not merely an immediate supply of their wants, but a permanent employ, and a progressive independence. Are there any such countries? Nearly so. Where is this poor man's paradise? I answer—where the greatest bounty is paid for the importation of men, where human ware sells highest at a slave-auction.

In all under-peopled countries men bear a price. It was so, under the patriarchs; so, in the Grecian and in the early

Roman world; so, in the northern and middle parts of modern Europe. It is still so in Turkey, in Russia, in North America. Wherever a labourer of the average strength and health, can habitually earn much more than the expense of his food, clothes, and shelter; he cannot but be a thing of worth. The sovereign will give a sum of money to enlist him among the troops; the farmer to enlist him among the boors; the architect to enlist him among the builders. This must be; and it favours the rapid growth of prosperity in a country, that a premium should be given for arrival and residence.

This premium, which is represented by the price of a slave, is indeed wholly the natural right of the individual sold; but he has to discharge out of it two just debts. The one to his supercargo for the fare of transportation, for his passage over; and the other to the state, for a claim of maintenance in case of want, which the first act of sale attaches in his favor to the parish, or estate, for which the purchase is made. The cost of transportation may be valued, I think, at about half the selling price of a slave. If he had contracted for his own fare from Sierra Leone to Stabroek, he would have forty or fifty pounds to pay before he could be lodged ashore, and clad after the fashion of the country.

The claim of maintenance in case of calamity may be valued, I think, at about one-half more than the whole purchase-money. When a negro chooses to be emancipated (many, who can afford it, do not choose it) he appears before the magistrate of police, and gives security in a sum of 2000 guilders (166l.) that he shall not become chargeable. This right of settlement, as it would be called in England, the state undertakes to commute with any given proprietor for 166l. by which the state is rather the gainer, so that it may fairly be estimated from 120l. to 150l. A free native of Africa, who had voluntarily come to settle on the Demerary, in order to be as well circumstanced as a negro is after his first sale by auction, would have to expend twice his selling price. His value is doubled. By leaving to the white merchants the whole management of his emigration, it has cost him but half what he must have given to effect it.

The great use of selling a man by auction is this, that he is thereby beckoned immediately into the form of employment for which there is the greatest call. The carpenter, the blacksmith, outbid the planter, if their labour is most in demand; the planter outbids them, when agriculture is the thriving employment. Thus, without waiting for the lessons of observation, a man finds out at once the most productive form of industry; without paying for instruction, he is at once apprenticed to the most expedient department of labor; and he is

maintained from his very arrival without any of that preliminary expenditure for food or for utensils, which a free artisan would have to incur. He is, moreover, transferred instantaneously to the county, nay, to the very parish, where there was most want of such a hand: if not by his first sale, by his second, he is sure to be shifted into the most expedient station which the region affords. The difficulty of conveying information to the unlettered is the only real obstacle to the arrangement of these migrations on a principle of personal consent. Voluntary colonists could be gotten by the myriad, did they but know the lot that awaits them.

From the moment a negro is for the first time sold by auction, it is preposterous to call him a *slave*. He is become in the strict legal sense of the word a *vassal*. He is ascribed to the soil, and can invoke its nutritious aid, by law, during sickness, famine, or decrepitude. He has climbed a step in human society. His sale by auction has conferred not only that civil right which is represented in England by a certificate of settlement; but also a right of property over those savings, which a wise employment of his leisure never fails to bestow. He can acquire a *peculium*, a distinct personal property, which may serve for the purchase of his freedom, or which, if he dies unenfranchised, will descend share and share alike to his children. The proprietor lodges, feeds, clothes, supplies the luxuries of rum and tobacco, and takes the produce of nine

or ten hours of labor every day. The vassal disposes of nearly fifteen hours. What British labourer pays for his shelter, his food, his raiment, and his ale-house bill, with the sacrifice of a smaller proportion of his time?

The laws of vassalage may in some rules require amendment and revision; but the system itself is a necessary step in human society, without which agriculture cannot overspread a new country. Vassalage is only a form of bartering labor directly for shelter and food, where there are not cottages to be hired, or shops at which to buy bread and meat. Unless the planter were to make, on a large scale, provision for the lodging, clothing, and feeding of as many peasants as he needs, not one of his labourers could subsist a week upon the estate. In Jamaica, they have to send over to North America for flour, to Novascotia for fish, and to Ireland for the beef, which is to give the negroes their christmas dinner; we are better off on the continent, and shall shortly supply many of the wants of Jamaica; but where absolute necessaries must be fetched from a vast distance, some one powerful individual must undertake the contract for the common supply, and take care to proportion it to the mass of his people. No doubt the time will come when our population is numerous; when, instead of hucksters, we shall have stationary shopkeepers; and when the peasantry will be able to subsist on wages

issued weekly. Then labor hired for a short term will supersede labor hired for life; or, as the Europeans would say, free labor will supersede vassalage. In the mean time, whatever accelerates the condensation of populousness tends to bring on the European plan of payment; and whatever retards the increase of people tends to defer the European plan of payment. The abolition of the slave-trade, by putting off the increase of colonists, will needlessly delay, by half a century, the emancipation of the negro vassalry: so thoughtless, so suicidal is the policy, which would interfere with the natural course of things. Some lascars have lately been brought to Trinidad, who are intended to be let as free labourers. It will soon be found, that they must adopt an owner responsible for their maintenance when disemployed, because they cannot raise the required pledge. It will next be found, that they must leave in pawn the mass of their wages, in order to secure the overseer, who delivers out provisions and clothes, for the repayment of his advances: and thus an agreement made after the European manner, will terminate in a practical vassalage.

Locke, a friend to liberty, but a man of sense, when he drew up the laws for South Carolina, recognized and established the subsisting property in slaves. He did not even attack the very questionable principle of the civil law, with re-

gard to the progeny of vassals, *partus sequitur* VENTREM; by reversing which, he would have provided for a more rapid growth of free people of color.

The abolitionists have pretended, that under the West Indian system of vassalage, the number of labourers is continually on the decrease. They infer this from the perpetual importation of fresh negroes; and suppose that ill-usage must occasion such an unnatural decay of populousness. I disbelieve the assertion. From all the fully settled islands, there is annually an obvious overflow of people. From Barbadoes and Antigua, free people of color have come in shoals to settle about Stabroek. From several islands, which, since being cleared of wood to excess, are dried up, and have declined in fertility, proprietors have detached to our continent, batches of creole slaves, and have occupied fresh estates with the redundance of their vassalry. Colony-craft again is provided with crews of various hues, obtained from the superfluous population of the West India islands; the petty shipping, which wanders about the American archipelago, and is thus manned, is innumerable. The number of negroes may apparently decrease, and yet the collective population may be on the increase; for many negro girls cohabit with white overseers, and spend the years of child-bearing in producing a mulatto progeny; and some negro men marry mulatto women. Where there are many mixt marriages, the posterity may in-

clude fewer negroes, and yet be more numerous than the parental individuals. In 1787, the collective population of the British islands in the West Indies, amounted to 50,000 whites, 10,000 free people of color, and 465,000 slaves. In 1805, it was computed at 55,000 whites, 18,000 free people of color, and 510,000 slaves. In Jamaica especially, the free people of color have increased during this interval from 4000 to 9000; and the slaves from 256,000 to 280,000 persons; it is true there was an annual importation of nearly 4000 slaves. Nor can any other proof be needed of a real increase of populousness in the West Indies, than the vast augmentation of demand and supply for every article of commercial interchange. This is further corroborated by the circumstance that the number of slaves *retained* for cultivation (for of the imported slaves, many are re-exported to foreign settlements) is perpetually decreasing; which, as the produce constantly reared has so much increased, could not be, unless the numbers of the creole or home-born slaves were vastly greater than before.

How necessary negro labourers are between the tropics appears from their habitual health and strength. The relative mortality of the blacks and whites in the climate of the West Indies, may be appretiated by comparing the Regimental Returns from 1796 to 1802.

TABLE

Of Deaths by Disease in the British Army serving in the West Indies.

	European Soldiers.				Negro Soldiers.			Officers.
	Largest Force.	Medium Monthly Returns.	Died.	Per Cent.	Force.	Died.	Per Cent.	Died.
1796, April,	19,676	15,881	6484	40¼	2495	75	3	226
1797, April,	13,627	11,503	3766	32¾	3080	118	4	99
1798, April,	9192	8416	1602	17½	3055	252	8	38
1799, Feb.	7654	7202	876	11¾	3354	258	7¾	24
1800, Feb.	8840	7890	1221	15½	4320	286	6½	58
1801, Feb.	11,745	10,315	2340	22¾	4604	276	6	104
1802, Feb.	10,198	9038	990	11	3840	199	5	41
Original Army,	19,676	.....	17,173	..	..	..	..	590

It appears, therefore, that the mortality of the whites exceeds that of the negroes in like circumstances by above four to one.

Not only the negro and the planter are both accommodated by the fetching of labourers from Africa, the general mass of plenty is thereby augmented. It is very little that any negro-slave, living all his life in Africa, can add by his toil to the useful produce of nature. The labor of a negro for one year on a sugar or a coffee plantation beside the Demerary, improved and aided as it is by the order of society, by the implements and processes of art, and by so many lights from science, adds more to the means for the sustenance of human life, than the same negro could have produced by *ten years*

toil, amid the wilds and barbarism of his native Africa. The productive power of a labor directed by the civilized is enhanced in a wonderful proportion.

I conclude with recommending that the trade in free negroes be alone checked; by causing a due investigation to be made at the slave-factories on the coast of Africa of the methods employed to collect passengers. If some trusty negroes, who have been attached for twenty years to plantations in the West Indies, were sent over to Africa to enlist voluntary recruits only, they would, I doubt not, be followed back by whole nations of their own accord. The slave-trade, properly so called, the trade which redeems slaves to exalt them into vassals, is a benefit to be encouraged by public premiums. Its continuance is of value to the whole negro race, and is essential to the further progress of agriculture, in the fertile but unpeopled tropical portions of America.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ESSEQUEBO—ITS ISLANDS—FORTIFICATIONS—CREEKS, OR TRIBUTARY STREAMS—CULTIVATION OF ITS BANKS—EXPORTATION OF SOIL TO BARBADOES—POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE PLANTERS—HISTORICAL PARTICULARS OF THE PROGRESS OF THE ORIGINAL COLONISTS—ADVANTAGES DERIVED FROM THE ACCESSION OF BRITISH SETTLERS.

NINE miles west of the Demerary is the river Essequebo, which at its mouth, commencing from Borasierri, and extending to Kapoeja creek, is twenty-one miles broad; the former serves as a boundary to the two colonies. The navigation here is very dangerous and difficult, even for small craft, which arises from banks of sand running in different directions across the entrance. At the mouth of the river are three islands, which are very valuable for their size, and the high state of their cultivation, principally of sugar and coffee; the eastermost is Leguan, that in the centre, Walkenaam, and the other Tiger island; then comes the west coast of the Essequebo; so that there are four entrances into the river, the best and safest

is between the east shore and Leguan. Southward of these are a succession of other islands, which extend five and twenty or thirty miles beyond the first. Hog and Troolie islands have both sugar and coffee, but a greater proportion of plantains. On that point of Leguan, facing the sea, are eight windmills, belonging to as many sugar estates. The appearance of this island is truly pleasing from the water, a sandy beach insures a good landing, the roads are finely shaded with orange and cocoa nut trees, and indeed, the whole being so beautifully laid out, has the appearance of a gentleman's pleasure ground; it is six miles long and half as many broad. Separated from it, by a channel sufficiently spacious and deep at high water for the passing and re-passing of colony boats, and at the distance of half a mile, is a small island, about two miles in circumference, which from its proximity to the other, is called Little Leguan. This is a wild but pleasant place, affording an agreeable recreation, both in shooting and fishing; the soil is of sand; some small underwood and shrubbery, which is sufficient for a shade when the heat of the day requires it, is the utmost of its production. The shires of Essequebo and Demerary, from their conjunction with each other, are comprized under one government, though two distinct colonies. Each has its court of justice and subordinate offices, but one court of police suffices for both, which is held in Demerary, at Stabroek.

But to return to the Essequebo river—Fort Island, about fifteen miles from the mouth, is the seat of the administrative government, and the residence of the commander, who is president of the court. A considerable expence was incurred here in the erection of a battery, which mounted forty pieces of cannon, with covered ways and ramparts, surrounded by a deep moat, over which a draw-bridge was thrown: this is now fast decaying, the cannon are dismounted, and the fort is totally deserted, save by the wash-women, who still find it a convenient place for hanging linen to dry. A few starved cattle of mynheer Blecker's, the tavern-keeper, are allowed to browse there, being intended for the repast of the very honourable members of the court of justice exclusively, who in this instance, shew their spirit of selfishness, in not permitting the numerous people that are obliged to dance attendance, when the court is sitting, to share with them the conveniency of the only tavern in the island, and indeed, in the colony. If that generous hospitality, which is so prevalent throughout the colonies, was not practised here in a considerable degree by some inhabitants, and in their private capacity by some members of court, the visitors would receive no accommodation whatever.

The river Supinama falls into the Essequebo. Many estates and settlements are already made on its banks, and it is also

the residence of several timber-cutters and brick-makers, the soil for which is particularly good.

The water of all the creeks is excellent, which in a great measure makes up for the deficiency of springs. The only one of any consequence is that already described, at the foot of a large sand-hill forty miles up the Demerary river.

The tides in these rivers are pretty regular, having about five hours and a half flood and six and a half ebb: their influence extends nearly a hundred miles up, and in spring tides, which rise regularly twice a month, at the full and change of the moon, the rivers swell to a considerable degree, especially when accompanied by a strong northerly wind, which is productive of bad consequences to the planter, if his front dams are not in a situation to repel this additional swell of water.

In 1698, the first settlement was founded on the banks of the Essequebo, but owing to an erroneous idea that the land adjacent to the sea was too low and swampy for cultivation, it was commenced on the higher land, nearly one hundred miles from the mouth, where the soil was by no means so favourable. The land was granted gratis under express stipulations that such a proportion should be under cultivation in a

given time, with the farther inducement of a larger grant, should the terms of the first have been complied with; and as a punishment for non-compliance, a fine was to be levied, which, if not paid, the land and improvements were to be sold for that purpose. A governor was appointed, and a conditional code of laws was given by the West Indian company of Holland, subject to the approbation of the States general. Such internal taxes were made by the governor and his council, who were appointed by the burghers, or inhabitants, as were requisite to defray the expenses of the colony.

Coffee, cotton, cocoa, and indigo, were the articles of produce, the culture of which was first attempted on the banks of the Essequebo, and as the planters did not labour under the disadvantages which most new settlers are liable to, great expectations were entertained of their success, both on account of its vicinity to Surinam, and to the West India islands, from which the new adventurers derived considerable assistance. Sugar was soon after introduced, and cocoa and indigo abandoned, as not affording an emolument equivalent to their expectations, owing to the great quantity produced and imported from Asia by the Dutch East India company.

Many wise and beneficial laws were instituted tending to benefit the colony, and promote the welfare of its inhabitants; who, from having left their native home to settle

settle in the wilds of South America, deserved and met with every encouragement from the legislature. One stipulation, namely the obligation to ship all their produce to the province of Zealand, operated, however, to their disadvantage, inasmuch as it deprived them of the choice of markets.

Their courts of judicature were well formed and arranged. Appeals from sentences in cases of debt, exceeding twelve hundred guilders (one hundred pounds) were allowed to be made to Holland. The court adjudged and gave a verdict from such documents and proofs as were laid before them, without hearing counsel on either side; the parties merely giving in a statement of their case, and attending afterwards in person to answer the questions which might be necessary for the elucidation of their respective claims, so that it might be considered in the light of an amicable arbitration. The poor man, as well as the rich, had a pleasure in knowing he could gain redress, without the enormous expence of lawyers' fees, and the multiplicity of charges in stamps and duties, which appear so necessary in other countries; whereas, the the only expence incurred here is a few shillings for a citation or summons. No inhabitant could be arrested, except for a criminal offence, nor were any permitted to leave the colony without a passport, and providing security for the payment of any debts remaining.

Melasses were allowed to be exported to America, in return for supplies received thence. Mill timber and house-frames, with which these forests abound, were also permitted to be taken away by the inhabitants of the British West India islands, as a compensation for British manufactured goods. Many vessels were sent hither for cargoes of earth, by the people of Barbadoes, with which they manured their lands. This traffic would have been carried on to a considerable extent, but great injury accrued to the vessels bottoms from it; after making two or three trips, a sort of worm, which is natural to the soil, introduced itself into the timbers and planks, which in a short time were sure to make the vessel leaky. The water-worm of the rivers on this coast is very injurious to all ships whose bottoms are not coppered. Great care and frequent application of a coat of tar is necessary, to preserve the boats in any kind of order. The petroleum found in Trinidad is said to be a better preservative against the worm than vegetable tar. The art of disgusting insects by strong and peculiar odors has been little studied. Camphor, though so fatal to insects, is seldom burnt in order to displace them. A mixture of cantharides, orpiment, and other drugs, boiled together, is used in Germany for the smearing of window-frames, and it is said to deter flies effectually. Insects in these climates are our most formidable foes.

The Company provided themselves with negroes from Africa, at a price which did not exceed twenty pounds each: the settlers also derived considerable advantage from gaining the good opinion of the Indians, whom they engaged, by trifling presents, to assist in their cultivation. These natives were also very useful and expert as huntsmen and fishers, being always sure to bring in a couple of hours, more than could be consumed in one day, which made the first colonists indifferent to the scarcity of European cattle and poultry. It may be feared there has been a negligence in not inducing the American Indians to continue for the colonists the occupations of fishing, fowling, hunting, navigating boats, and felling timber. A considerable quantity of labor is thus lost; and must be supplied from Africa, by persons whose local knowledge is for these purposes far less efficacious. The Indians, too, would insensibly have learned to want more European commodities, if they were induced to practise, in their mode, arts, and occupations, for the benefit of a civilized population.

At this time, as there were no public roads, or even foot-paths, for any considerable distance, the only method of travelling was by water, in tent-boats, rowed by six or eight Indians; and as the seamen are governed by the wind, so were they by the tide, which runs in all these rivers at the rate of six or eight miles an hour. When the current is against them

they are obliged to stop, and if near any house, the traveller lands, and is sure of a hearty welcome. The principal conveniences used in this country for sleeping are large cotton *hammocks*, made by the Indians, eight or ten feet long, and ten or twelve wide. Mr. Bryan Edwards thinks this a Caribbee word, I rather suspect it derives from the Dutch *hang-mat*.

After the first ten years, the colony made little improvement, remaining nearly stationary the succeeding thirty. No cause can be assigned for this circumstance, unless it be the insufficiency of the funds engaged in the undertaking. Holland began to see her error in intrusting the colonization of her American colonies to private companies, and to be convinced that they would make a greater progress, under the immediate protection of government, than of individual agents. The event in this instance has justified their opinion. The Company, on reviewing the state of their finances, and seeing little probability of success attending their pursuits on the present plan, determined upon closing with the States General, and finally transferred to them all the possessions and claims, granted them by charter, reserving merely for themselves three or four sugar estates, which soon after reverted to the colony.

The feature of things in general, now wore a different aspect, a free trade to Holland, a better supply of negroes and

planting utensils. The produce flowing into different channels, and the advantages arising from the colony being so liberally offered to those who chose to settle there, induced several British subjects from the West India islands to procure grants of land, which could be obtained with little or no expense on the sea coast, and the land adjacent, as the Dutch planters had neglected these, under an idea of their being low and liable to inundation. This consideration had no weight, however, with the English settlers, who brought over seasoned negroes, and commenced with determined industry, to clear and drain the land, dyked it all round, and then began planting. With those situated within the river, sugar was their chief object. They introduced the art of distilling rum into the colony, which had never been before attempted, but the melasses had always been disposed of in the raw state. I am convinced it is a mistake in British policy, to encourage distilleries of any kind, in their own island. The grand use of distillation, is to render moveable to any distance, and preservable for any length of time, the superfluous produce of agriculture. It ought, therefore, for the greatest good of the whole, to be carried on, where agriculture has most surplus produce; which is always in the newly settled and therefore underpeopled countries. We could deliver rum in the British market, cheaper than the English can make gin; so that the diffusion of comfort, and invigoration could be had by the people for less money, and less labor. The British distilleries

compete with the brewers for malt and barley; they thus cause a higher price of the materials of beer and porter, and consequently of the wholesomest and most usual drink of the people, than would otherwise be occasioned. Gin-distilleries destroy human food; they not only endear spirits by the monopoly they have obtained of the home-market; but endear beer by distilling the useful grains of which it is made; whereas rum is manufactured from a refuse produce. The peculiar and somewhat disagreeable taste of rum, may be remedied by attentions to the process; exquisite liqueurs, of which it is the basis, are prepared in the French West India islands. It would be equitable to make the duty on the importation of rum, and its compounds exactly equal to the excise-duty on the distillation of gin; this would suffice gradually to open an European market, for a most important article of our produce. The English have use enough for their land without growing their own gin; but to us an additional demand for produce must be perpetually opening, if we are to extend our agriculture in the practicable degree.

On the sea coast, the British settlers also commenced the culture of cotton, and found that land to answer much better than the soil up the river. The cotton is a trefoil shrub, about five feet high, which bears yellow flowers; these are succeeded by an oval bean-pod, containing seeds and cotton. To grow it, holes are made seven or eight feet asunder, in

which several seeds are thrown; when the young plants are about six inches high, all the stems are pulled up, except two or three of the strongest. These continue for three or four years to supply two gatherings of cotton in the season. The down is cleared of the seeds by a sort of mill. The success which attended these first adventurers, soon brought more; and from the first coming over of the British settlers, may be fixed the date of the colony's improvement. In 1748, several settlements were made on the banks of the Demerary, but some distance up the river; nor could the Dutch, here, as in the other case, be induced to settle nearer the mouth of it, until the English had set them the example, which they soon did after that period. The Dutch, with a little experience, discovered that the land which they had been cultivating so far up, was not near so fertile and productive, as that which was so frequently inundated. And it may be remarked, that the greater part of the low land in Guyana, has grown out of the sea within the last three or four centuries. This soil, partly the work of alluvion, partly of vegetation, partly of marine insects, is still increasing; the coast is very shallow, and difficult of approach in many parts, and appears to grow continually.

The indefatiguable industry and perseverance of the English planters, brought the west coast of Demerary into cultivation; its contiguousness to Essequebo, soon occasioned a

road of communication between it and that place. Demerary was hitherto considered a dependency of Essequebo, but in 1774, having extended itself to a surprising degree, and offering a superior harbour to the other, it was determined to make that the residence of the governor, and capital of the two colonies; for that purpose the town of Stabroek was commenced about a mile from the fort, and on the same side the river, whilst a commandeur, or deputy governor, was now appointed for Essequebo. Seven years after this change, an English privateer took possession of the two colonies, in the name of his Britannic Majesty, such was the weak state in which Holland left her colonies. The British commanders at Barbadoes, were on the eve of sending troops to the garrison, in order to fortify them, when information was received that the English, in their turn, had been obliged to capitulate to a French corvette; such was the despicable situation, as far as their means of defence were concerned, of these improving colonies. The British inhabitants held out indeed as long as they were able, in expectation of relief from the West India islands; every possible precaution was taken, but a strict blockade obliged them to accede to the terms.

In 1783, at the general peace, the colonies were ceded to the Dutch. During the late war, these, with the other possessions of the Dutch in the West Indies, were entirely neglected, their whole attention being directed to the east. Under

these circumstances, little improvement could be expected; crippled as they were, without trade or support from the mother country, and only deriving a little assistance from the British West Indies, it was surprising that three hundred estates were absolutely in cultivation at this time, worked by twenty-five or twenty-eight thousand negroes; the population in white inhabitants did not exceed twelve hundred.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ESSEQUEBO CONTINUED—SAVAGE INHABITANTS OF THE BANKS—THE CARRIBBEES—CANNIBALISM—THE ACCAWAWS—THE WORROWS—THE ARROWAUKS—POLYGAMY—MANNERS AND EXERCISES.

In my voyages up the Essequebo to contract for produce, or to collect it, I have occasionally met with canoes of the Indians; although they are continually receding from the districts which the Europeans choose to colonize.

The Carribbees inhabit that part of the coast which lies between the Essequebo and the Orinoko. They are of a middle stature, and well made. Their complexion is light when compared to the other native tribes, their features agreeable, and the expression of their countenance remarkably sprightly. They colour their bodies by way of ornament with arnotto, and decorate themselves with beads made of fishes teeth: their hair (like that of all the tribes) is straight, long, and black. Their language is articulated with great distinctness,

and is pronounced with much sharpness of tone. The following list of words will give some idea of its euphony.

Caribbee,	*Meaning in English.*	*Caribbee,*	*Meaning in English.*
Liani,	*His wife*	Nané-guaete	*I am sick*
Yene-neri,	*My wife*	Halea tibou,	*Good be to you*
Hac yeté,	*Come hither*	Phoubae,	*To blow*
Karbet,	*Walled house* / *Assembly house*	Toubana ora,	*Roof of a house*
		Bayou boukaa,	*Go thy way*
Encka,	*Necklace or collar*	Baika,	*Eat*
Yene kali,	*My necklace*	Aika,	*To eat*
Hue-Hue,	*Wood*	Nichiri,	*The nose*
Nora,	*My skin*	Natoni boman,	*Give me nourishment*

A very copious account of the Caribbee language has been given by a catholic missionary, named Raymond Breton, who published at Auxerre, in 1665. His travels respected the Caribbee islands, where the men, he says, spoke one language, and the women another, the latter being of Floridan extraction. But the Caribbees, or Galibbees, from the southern continent had lately conquered the islands and exterminated the males.

The Carribbees are the most numerous and warlike of the native tribes of Guyana. During peace they have no sovereigns or magistrates; but during war a chief is elected, who leads them to battle. Their weapons are bows and arrows,

and large clubs made of iron wood: they also use poisoned shafts, which are discharged through a reed by the force of the lungs. They are seldom at war with other tribes, but against the Spaniards they carry on an almost constant hostility. Their houses are situated near each other, so that the blowing of a shell, which is their usual signal, will in a very short time assemble many hundreds of the inhabitants. The Carribbees excel the other tribes in industry. The chief employments of the men are hunting and fishing: the women perform the in-door labors; they also cultivate plaintains and cassava, upon as much ground as they choose, for there is no property in land among the Indians. Their hammocks are made with great labor: the cotton is spun with the hand, and in the process of weaving, the thread analogous to our shoot is passed under every other thread of the warp separately, as in darning, raising them one by one with the finger. When the weaving is finished, the hammock is dyed with red figures. Some part of the produce of their industry they barter for Eu ropean articles. For this purpose they make canoes out of trees, hollowed by fire, some of which are seventy feet in length. Beside these, they exchange wax, gourds full of the balsam capivi, cotton hammocks, different kinds of wood, and staves. For these they get in return hooks, knives, hatchets, fire arms, combs, looking glasses, beads of glass and of coral.

This barter-trade in my opinion, could be greatly increased. By holding fairs at certain known seasons, and offering some hospitality to the savages, they could be induced to collect from remote places of the interior. They would bring many curious productions, and gradually acquire a variety of wants. The Spaniards have instituted such fairs at Buenos Ayres with the happiest effect. It is true, they fix on the grand festivals of their religion for the assemblage, and hold showy processions, in which the Indians delight to take a part, drest up with crowns of feathers. But games of agility and bodily exercises, shooting with the bow, distributing swimming-prizes, horse-races even, might be made to serve for the pretence of meeting. Fairs are the natural methods of distributing wares in countries insufficiently peopled to maintain stationary shops. They have flourished in all such countries, and decay with the progress of settlement. What were the Olympic games of Greece originally but fairs, at which there were boxing, wrestling, and running matches? Yet at these fairs the intercourse took place, which founded a national cohesion, and scattered the refinements of civilized life.

It is an undoubted fact, that the Caribbees have, in some instances, devoured their enemies slain in battle. Of all the natives of Guyana, this practice is peculiar to the Carribbees. Our aversion to a meal of human flesh is not a feeling origi-

nating in our organs of taste, but in some complex mental association. If we were ignorant of what we were about to eat, we might feast on human flesh with pleasure: tell us what we have devoured, and we should sicken at the frightful meal. It seems to be a principle of our nature, to be averse to devouring what has been an object of affection; as if the mind disliked to prostitute that to the low cravings of the body, which had once ministered to the elevated desires of the soul. Man is the object of our strongest affection—the tenderest emotions of the heart are excited by individuals of the human race; and these emotions are extended by association in some degree to all mankind. The form, the countenance, the lineaments of man, excite in our minds faint traces of the love which we had felt for individuals of his kind. It is not surprising, therefore, that we should have the most invincible antipathy to eating human flesh; that we should shudder at devouring that which is so peculiarly associated with our strongest affections. But man is not the only object which, by loving, we cannot use for food. We never eat the animals which we have domesticated: the reason is, because we feel for them emotions of regard, differing in degree, not in kind, from those which we feel for man. The dog, the companion of my solitary walk; the cat who sits by my winter's fire-side, and whose purring is music to my ear; and the horse who bears me patiently over many a long rough road, produce in me feelings nearly allied to affection. Why do not the flesh

of these animals mingle with our dishes? Because our hearts become in some degree attached to these useful animals, and it is a principle of our nature, to be averse to devouring what has been an object of love.

Those animals which are esteemed proper articles of food, and which we feed to serve up at our tables, sometimes afford illustrations of this principle. So liable is the heart of man to attach itself to surrounding objects, that those animals which are doomed to the knife, if fed and tended by ourselves, often fix themselves upon our affections, and thus are unfitted for our food. When a boy, I could never have eaten of the rabbit which I had tended myself, and which had so often nibbled the cabbage leaf from my hands. There are instances enough to establish the principle, that we dislike eating what we once had loved, and it is probable that our aversion to a meal of human flesh, depends upon this principle. Cannibalism is the practice only of the most savage and ferocious nations, of those who have little sensibility of heart to render them capable of loving, and who are devoid of the amiable qualities of the mind, which are the objects of love. It should be observed also, that they only devour their *enemies*, and rather to satisfy their revenge, than their hunger; of all passions, revenge is the most destructive of love. Perhaps the above remarks will throw some light upon the general detestation, and the possible practice of cannibalism.

I now proceed to describe the other native tribes.

The Worrows principally inhabit the sea coast lying between the Demerary and Surinam. They are above the middle size, their features are very large and disagreeable, and the colour of their skin is much darker than that of the Carribbees. They pronounce their language in a very disagreeable and indistinct tone. For ornaments, they suspend oval plates of silver to the cartilages of their nose. For cloathing, they sometimes use the bark of trees, or the net which surrounds the origin of the branches of the cocoa nut tree; sometimes however, they purchase cloth for this purpose. They live in the wet marshy places on the coast, and feed upon the crabs and fish which they catch there. They are a contented people, patient under suffering, but this patience and contentment destroys all industry and enterprize, for they are dirty, fearful, and indolent.

The Accawaws inhabit that part of Guyana contiguous to the source of the rivers Essequebo, Demerary, and Berbice. They are above the middle size, with lighter complexions and more agreeable features than the Worrows. In the lower lip a large round hole is made, in which is fitted a piece of wood, which is cut even with the skin externally, and internally presses against the gums. Their manners are grave, and their characters unusually cunning. These Indians are much feared,

because of the poisons which they are said to prepare, and to make use of for revenging an insult. If any one has been injured in the chastity of his wife, he hides the most mortal hatred under an outside of friendship; the injurer is invited to a banquet, and a fatal poison is cunningly mingled with his drink, which slowly but surely kills him. By means of their poisons, they also protect themselves from the attacks of those tribes upon which they have made incursions. Sharp pieces of wood, poisoned and driven into the earth, are placed in all the passages which lead to their houses, one only excepted, which is kept secret among themselves. But these relations resemble the oby stories of the negroes, and must be received with hesitation. Their articles of commerce are, slaves, monkeys, parrots, ebony, and other curious woods, arnotto, winter's bark, wild nut-meg, wild cinnamon, balsam capivi, &c.

The Arrowauks are the next and last of the tribes I shall describe. It has been said that the Worrows inhabit the marshy sea coast between Demerary and Surinam, the Arrowauks live at the back of their settlements, where the land is higher and more dry; about twenty leagues from the coast. They are of the middle size, well made, and of a lighter colour than the three former tribes. Their features are regular, their teeth very white, their eyes black and piercing, and the whole expression of the face is very agreeable. They have hardly any beard, for those parts of the body which are

usually covered with hair, have nothing but a thin down, which they pick out as often as it grows. The women have agreeable features, and slender, well proportioned limbs, and when young, many of them are very beautiful, but when old, their large bellies and long flaccid breasts make them very disagreeable. The men wear a string round the waist, to which is attached, both before and behind, a piece of cloth, which passes between the thighs. The women wear a little apron, about six or eight inches square, woven from cotton, on which are strung small glass beads of different colours; this apron is suspended before by strings of beads passed round the waist. A cotton garter is knit round each ankle. On festival days, they wear caps of feathers and strings of beads round their wrists, arms, ankles, and legs. Their language is distinct, soft, and harmonious. The prominent features of their character are vivacity, friendliness, and timidity. Their arms are large sharp clubs, made of iron wood, and bows and arrows. Beside the arrows which they shoot with bows, they use poisoned arrows, which are blown through hollow reeds with the mouth. The art of blowing these arrows from the reed is practiced from childhood, by which means they acquire such dexterity in their management, that they will hit an object at the distance of thirty or forty yards. These arrows are chiefly used for killing monkeys, which, when wounded by them, fall from the tree senseless. The Arrowauks do not constantly reside in one spot,

but are continually removing from place to place, generally preferring the sides of rivers and creeks for their habitations. Little time is required for the erection of their houses. They are made by driving four forked poles into the ground perpendicularly, so as to form a square; these are united by four others layed horizontally, and the roof is afterwards made by poles layed laterally, and covered by those enormous leaves which are called troolies, and which are more than twenty feet long, and two broad. From the bread of cassava or manioc, they make a fermented liquor, which in taste is somewhat like ale. In the use of this liquor, both men and women are very intemperate. By fermenting maize, a strong drink is also made, which is not much unlike porter.

The person who saw most of these nations, and who explored the interior of Guyana to the greatest extent, was an European colonist, named Nicholas Hortsman, originally of Hildersheim, in Germany. In the year 1740, he undertook, in a canoe manned by Indians, to ascend the Essequebo as far as possible. After traversing many broads of water, dragging his canoe beside the rapids, and carrying it occasionally, on the shoulders of the crew, across the isthmusses, he came to a great lake, and thence into a river running southwards, which floated him to the Rionegro. This stream falls into the Maranyo, or river of Amazons; so that he must have crossed those highest parts of Guyana, whence the waters descend in

opposite directions. At Para, he saw the French academician M. Condamine, and communicated to him a map of his route, and a sketch of his journal; but no separate account of his interesting excursion was ever laid before the European public. Solitary journies of this kind are unwise; the amusement would be doubled, and the toil halved, by the society of friendship; and accident would be less able to intercept the reputation and the fruits of discovery. It seems probable that the great lake, called Parima by the geographers, may supply streams both to the Essequebo and to the Rionegro. In this case, it must be adapted to become the main reservoir and center of traffic for a most extensive inland navigation.

I have hitherto been describing those things which distinguish one tribe from another; I now come to those which are common to them all. The natives of Guyana believe in one God, who is the cause of all the good which occurs in the world, and in a race of malevolent beings, of inferior power, called yowahoos, who are the authors of all the evils which befal them. To the former they offer up no prayers, but they supplicate the latter whenever they are oppressed by any misfortune. Each family has a priest, or peii, who performs the twofold office of priest and physician, and who is supposed to have great influence over the minds of the yowahoos, both in averting evils from some, and in calling them down upon the heads of others. If an Indian becomes sick, the peii repairs

to him: at ten o'clock at night, the room is cleared of persons and darkened, and the peii takes the instrument with which he performs the incantation of the yowahoo. This is hollowed calabash, with a few seeds and stones inclosed in it, and a stick thrust through it. With this instrument he rattles, singing meanwhile a prayer to the yowahoo who is supposed to be offended. This incantation is continued till midnight, when an interview takes place between the peii and the yowahoo. Two voices are now heard conversing. The peii afterwards makes his report. If the Indian recovers the peii has the credit; if he does not, the yowahoo is implacable. The office of peii is hereditary, being conferred only on the eldest son.

At a funeral, the relations and friends show their grief for the deceased by getting drunk, singing, and crying: but of all their instances of regard to their deceased friends, none is so striking as what they call the feast of the dead, or the feast of souls. The day for this ceremony is appointed in the council of their chiefs, who give orders for every thing, which may enable them to celebrate it with pomp and magnificence. The riches of the nation are exhausted on this occasion, and all their ingenuity displayed. The neighbouring people are invited to partake of the feast, and to be witnesses of the solemnity. At this time, all who have died since the last solemn feast of that kind, are taken out of their graves. Those who

have been interred at the greatest distance from the villages are diligently sought for, and brought to this great rendezvous of carcases. It is not difficult to conceive the horror of this general disinterment. Some appear dry and withered; others have a sort of parchment upon their bones; some look as if they were baked and smoaked, without any appearance of rottenness; some are just turning towards the point of putrefaction; whilst others are all swarming with worms, and drowned in corruption. I know not which ought to strike us most, the horror of so shocking a sight, or the tender piety and affection of these poor people towards their departed friends; for nothing deserves our admiration more, than that eager diligence and attention with which they discharge this melancholy duty of their tenderness; gathering up carefully even the smallest bones; handling the carcases, disgustful as they are, with every thing loathsome; cleansing them from the worms, and carrying them upon their shoulders through tiresome journies of several days, without being discouraged by their insupportable stench, and without suffering any other emotions to arise, than those of regret, for having lost persons who were so dear to them in their lives, and so lamented in their death.

This strange festival is more or less in use among all the American savages bordering on the gulf of Mexico, on the Missisipi as on the Orinoko, and is probably a remnant of Mexican superstition. A pompous reinterment is given to the

dead; and games of all kinds are celebrated on the occasion, in the spirit of those which the ancient Greeks and Romans celebrated upon similar occasions.

They have no laws, and no magistrates, and the only restraint upon their conduct is the fear of revenge from the individuals they may injure. The want of laws, and of an uniform strong coercive power, is not perceived in a narrow society, where every man has his eye upon his neighbour, and where the whole bent of every thing they do is to strengthen those natural ties by which society is principally cemented. Family love, rare among us, is a national virtue among them, of which all partake. Friendships there are among them, fit to vie with those of fabulous antiquity; and where such friendships are seen to grow, the families concerned congratulate themselves as upon an acquisition, that promises to them a mutual strength, and to their nation the greatest honor and advantage.

When an Indian marries, he is perfectly indifferent about the virginity of his wife; but after his marriage he expects fidelity to his bed: and so strong is the influence of opinion, that adultery is very uncommon, although it is commanded by no part of their religious tenets. Polygamy is universally allowed, but an Indian is never seen with two young wives;

the only case in which he takes a second, is when his first has become old and ugly.

Whether or no polygamy is agreeable to the intention of nature, is an old question. By that equality in the number of the sexes which almost every where prevails, it would appear that nature intended one woman for one man, and hence that polygamy is contrary to her obvious intention. The same inference may be drawn from a quality of that passion by which nature produces a union of the sexes. Friendship may have several objects; love can have only one. It seems therefore, that the union of the sexes was intended to be by pairs. Yet there are some reasons to believe that nature intended more than one female for each male: women cease to bear children even in Europe before the fiftieth year, while men are capable of procreation to a much later period of life. Beauty seems to have been given to the female to invite the male to that union which is necessary for the existence of the species; the glow worm lures the male to her embrace by a phosphorescent light. Beauty is the phosphorescent light which was prepared to effect the union of the male and female of the human race. But this light is of short endurance, it goes out long before the male is incapable of feeling its influence. It seems to be a doubtful question then, whether or no polygamy is agreeable to the intention of nature.

Agriculture and the common domestic concerns, are the chief employment of the Indian wife. She plants yams, cassava and manioc in sufficient number to supply the family with bread and with piworree, that fermented liquor which has been already described. The employment of the men consists chiefly in hunting and fishing. The fish are taken either by traps, or by inebriating them with the root of hiarra. If a piece of the bruised root be thrown into the water, the fish soon rise to the surface in such a state of insensibility as to be easily taken. The other way of catching them is to stop the mouth of the creek which opens into the river by fences, leaving a small opening about four feet broad. During the flood tide the fish pass into the creek in search of food; as soon as the ebb begins, the Indian stops this outlet to prevent the return of the fish, which at low water, are seen laying on the mud. The food is boiled, and very highly seasoned with red pepper. When they have more animal food than will serve for present use, they dry and smoak it, after which it will keep for many months. No particular hour of the day is allotted for meals; the Indian eats when he is hungry. Eating at stated times is only one instance of that systematic regularity of employment, which is enforced by the multifarious occupations of civilized society. The allotment of certain hours for meals, is a mark of some advancement towards civilization.

The females of Guyana endure little pain or after-illness from parturition. As soon as it is over, the mother and child are plunged into water, and the woman immediately goes about her usual occupations. Little care is taken of their off-spring during infancy. The males, as soon as they are old enough, go a hunting with the father, and the females learn the domestic duties of the mother. Indolence is a universally prevailing feature in the Indian character; and although the game is so plentiful, and the earth so fruitful, that the greater part of their time is unoccupied, excepting by amusements, yet they are often in want of their usual sustenance. Their indolence is so great, that they spend a much greater part of their time in their hammocks, than in active pleasures. Here an Indian will set a long time picking the hairs out his beard, and then admiring himself in a looking-glass; then he will take a flute and play upon it for some time; then he will eat, converse, and go to sleep. They are very expert swimmers, and are very fond of the exercise: large companies of men and women bathe in the rivers several times a day, without the least regard to the indiscriminate mixture of the sexes: sometimes they form large parties at each others houses, when they divert themselves with stories, dancing, laughter, and drunkenness. They are very quarrelsome in their cups, and almost all their disputes take place in a state of intoxication. They are remarkably deficient in the art of calculation:

they cannot express precisely any distance of time beyond ten or twelve moons. In describing a number of objects, they tell by units, tens, and scores, up to a hundred, which is the highest number their power of enumeration carries them to.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE RIVER BERBICE——HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENTS THERE—NEW AMSTERDAM—ITS BUILDINGS—TAVERNS—FORTIFICATIONS—ROADS AND WATER ROADS—CANJE CREEK—VISIT TO A COFFEE-PLANTER—DECLENSION OF SEVERAL WEST INDIA ISLANDS—WISDOM OF DESERTING THEM FOR CONTINENTAL PROPERTY.

BERBICE river lies in N. latitude 6 deg. 20 m. and 57 deg. 20 m. west longitude from London. Its stream at the mouth is a mile and a half broad, and in the centre is an island called Crab Island.

A bar of sand five miles without the river, running from east to west, prevents vessels drawing more than fourteen feet from entering the river; this navigation is more dangerous than that of the Demerary, from the obstructions to it being of sand. On this account few vessels rendezvous here, but make the port of Demerary their anchorage, whence the supplies from the mother country are transported in co-

lony schooners, and the produce shipped in return is conveyed to the vessels through the same medium.

Berbice, by the old boundary, is bounded on the east by the Devil's Creek, and on the west by Abarry Creek, which separates that colony from Demerary. The river Berbice is shallow, but broad; nearly an hundred plantations have been formed on its banks. The directors of the colony obtain from it chiefly sugar. It also supplies cotton, coffee, cocoa, tobacco, and a dying stuff called rokou. The goods carried thither are the same as those traded with in the rest of the West Indies.

The Dutch laid the foundations of this colony in the beginning of the last century. About the year 1626, one Van Peere, of Flushing, began to send thither ships, which carried out Europeans, who staid there to trade with the Indians, and collect produce. By the year 1690, this colony was so far increased that the French, who made a hostile landing, could levy a contribution of 20,000 florins. This colony was comprehended in the charter of the Dutch West India Company; but in 1678, arrangement was made with the family of Van Peere, who were in fact the founders and proprietors, by which it was granted to them as a perpetual and hereditary fief. This grant was confirmed in 1703, and was respected until 1712, when a flotilla of French privateers, under the command of one Cassard, went to attack the

settlement. Baron Mouars commanded the troops who were landed, and who agreed for a contribution of 300,000 florins; which was eventually discharged by the house of Van Hoorn and Co. to whom the family Van Peere ceded three-fourths of the concern, under this condition.

The Van Hoorn company having become masters of the colony, applied to the Dutch East India Company for leave to import slaves from Asia: this was not conceded; but an agreement took place to furnish annually, from the 10th of September, 1714, the number of 240 negroes, from the coast of Angola or Ardra, one third of them to be females. For these slaves the Van Hoorn Company were to allow 165 florins a-head. If a larger number of negroes became requisite, these were to be paid for at the rate of 250 florins a-head. The proprietors of the colony were to have the liberty of selling off their lands and slaves at pleasure; and were to levy 300 florins on every vessel that should go to Berbice.

These proprietors were apparently in a great degree successful; they extended the cultivation of sugar, of cocoa, and of indigo; they searched for mines, and invited settlers. They then proposed to raise a capital of 3,200,000 florins in 1600 shares, payable in eight instalments, of which the last was to fall due on the 1st of April 1724. For this sum the lands of the Van Hoorn Company were to be thrown into a sort of common

stock, and cultivated at a joint expence; the shipping, the warehouses, the revenues of the custom-house, the produce was all to be the property of the share-holders, and a dividend commensurate with the annual profit was to be made. The actual proprietors were to receive, in lieu of any indemnity or purchase-money, a number of shares proportioned to their occupations: thus they would become interested, it was supposed, in promoting the prosperity of the concern, and in raising its dividends continually. About 1,882,000 florins were thus raised and vested; dividends, which never exceeded three or four per cent. were made; and at length the shares fell from 2000 to 200 florins, and were chiefly bought in by the settlers, as titles requisite to the integrity of their property.

A garrison of about 200 men was kept there before the penultimate war; but the colony, says the Abbé Raynal, was nevertheless scarcely in a condition to resist the crew of an enterprising privateer.

In Holland, the colony of Berbice is administered by seven directors, who are chosen by and from among the share-holders. They receive a salary yearly of 200 florins; and give in their accounts to an annual meeting of proprietors, who name auditors. A secretary and two book-keepers suffice for the business of the concern at Amsterdam. On the spot things are conducted much as in Surinam.

The principal articles on which the revenues of the colony are levied, are a capitation tax on the white and black inhabitants, an excise on every fifty pounds of sugar made, a weighage toll of about two per cent. on all imports and exports, and a tonnage duty of three florins per last on the burden of ships. The directors have undertaken to erect fortifications on the Isle of Crabs; and have ordered, that to every fifteen negroes there should be one white. They grant passports to such inhabitants of Holland as desire to trade to Berbice, with the condition that for thirty florins a-head any passenger-colonists, recommended by the directors, shall be received on board, and if under twelve years of age, for half price.

From the land adjacent to the sea being so very low and marshy, the first settlers of this colony went fifty miles up the river, where they built a town and fortress, which they called Zealandica. As population began to increase, and cultivation extended itself, the inconvenience of being so far from the river's mouth, presented itself in various forms; large vessels found a difficulty in working up the crooked course of the river; the projecting points of mud from the irregularity of the stream, occasioned vessels to ground, where they sometimes were obliged to lay until the rising of the spring tides floated them off. Thus situated, and with a view of inducing vessels from Europe, with cargoes for Berbice, to anchor di-

rectly in the river, instead of going to Demerary, the seat of government was removed within a mile of the mouth of the river.

New Amsterdam, the name of the town, as built on the south side of Canje river, running in that direction up the banks of the Berbice a mile and a half, with the houses facing the water. The Dutch in laying out this town, paid every attention to health and convenience; each allotment appears an island within itself; the ditches, or trenches, round the houses fill and empty themselves every tide, by which means all the filth and dirt is carried off before it has time to stagnate, or occasion unhealthy sensations. Each lot is a quarter of an acre of land, separated as before-mentioned from the adjoining one; which not only leaves a free circulation of air, but allows to every house a kitchen-garden, which produces vegetables sufficient for the family. The houses are different from those of Stabroek, in this respect, they are not more than a story and a half high, very long and narrow, with galleries on either side for the purpose of walking and smoaking in the shade: they are mostly covered with troolie and plantain leaves, a species of thatch, in preference to shingles, as being considered so much cooler; but the quantity of vermin and insects which they harbour does away every other consideration with Englishmen, whose houses in New Amsterdam may be distinguished by being shingled.

The government house and attached buildings are laid out in a splendid manner, they are of brick, and built in the European style; for architectural magnificence in Guyana, they are most noticed; yet even these are not perfect. The eye and the taste are both insulted on looking at this fine pile of buildings from the river: at the water's edge, in a line directly opposite the house and not twenty yards from it, is a boat builder's yard; so that his excellency and family, when going over the river to visit his estates, are obliged to wade through a group of negroes at work, a heap of chips, boiling pitch pots and many other delicate etcæteras to embark on board the yatcht. The colonial offices, namely, the fiscal's, receiver's, and secretary's, are situated behind the government house, and are all built of brick.

There are two taverns in New Amsterdam, both of which have billiard tables; at one of them is a *table d'hote* daily for the convenience of travellers passing through the town, or planters from the country; this house also affords accommodation for slinging hammocks. I have had mine slung without the least ceremony in the same room with a Dutch surgeon and his wife, who slept in separate hammocks, and the only partition between us consisted of a piece of thin cotton bagging extended from the sides of the room, reaching half way up to the cieling. I was not aware of this arrangement until I was conducted to my chamber, when I recognised the voices

of the Dutch lady and gentleman I had dined with at the ordinary: we each exchanged a polite *'goed nagt'* before going to sleep. In the morning after breakfast I called for my bill, and as it may be a novelty I insert it.

Playing six games of billiards, 10 st.	3	0
A glass of sangaree	1	10
A bunch of segars	1	0
Dinner	5	10
Wine	2	0
Two cups of coffee, 5 st.	0	10
Billiards in the evening	1	10
Sangaree, 2 glasses	3	0
Slinging your hammock	3	0
Two cups of coffee in the morning	0	10
Breakfast	3	0
Cleaning boots	0	10
G.	25	0

Twenty-five gilders is 2l. 1s. 8d. sterling; so much for the tavern expences of little more than two meals at an ordinary. The eager hospitality of this country soon placed me in a private house, beyond the reach of such imposing charges.

The fortifications are of no great import; fort St. Andrew and a small battery, guard the entrance of the river on the east side; and York redoubt on the opposite or west bank. There are two entrances into the river, one on each side of Crab Island, which is reserved by the colonial government for erecting a fort, that will completely command the passage into the river, and from being an island, will be easier and much better defended than the present fort. Crab Island is about two miles in circumference, and might be made a very defensible post; but that would not avail much, as whatever the fate of Demerary is, that of Berbice must be the same, from their being so contiguous; the former once in possession of any power, would soon over-run the latter by troops, which could march overland; the convenient ferries stationed at all the creeks and rivers for the passage of horses and carriages, would afford a conveyance to any force sent for that purpose, and although the sovereignty of the colony might be for a while contested in the strong holds and fortresses, it could not last long, the very nature of the situation would oblige the garrison to surrender, or be starved out. For these and other obvious reasons, Berbice has regularly capitulated to the British, after Demerary had surrendered.

The same field for speculators and adventurers presented itself here as in the other colonies. The west coast was first put in cultivation, and in 1799 that to the eastward of the

river, as far as the Devil's Creek, attracted notice, and was quickly transformed from a heavy impenetrable forest to a field of cotton trees. This coast was surveyed, and was cut into two parallel lines of estates with a navigable canal between the two lines for the convenience of water carriage; behind this second row of estates, runs the stream of the river Canje, the banks of which on both sides are cultivated with sugar, coffee, and plantains. The estates are thus denominated; that line facing the sea, are the coast estates, the second line the canal estates, and the other are the Canje.

This is a fine river, and navigable for colony schooners, thirty miles up; it runs nearly in an easterly direction; at the head of it are immense falls and cataracts; about forty miles below these is a creek which connects itself with the Courantine, through which overland dispatches are brought from Surinam by the Indians: no Europeans have, as far as I could learn, ever attempted this lonely track; its ways are long and intricate, and known to few; there are many creeks to cross, for which purpose the Indians travel with a light canoe, which they carry on their shoulders, and which is launched without any trouble as occasion requires. When the colonies are formally ceded to Great Britain by peace, communications from Surinam will soon be opened with these settlements, and if regular mails and stage coaches should follow, I shall not be surprised. Indeed the opening of a regular communication

with Paramaribo, by establishing a ferry over the Courantine, and expending labor on the present rude path, or by digging a canal and establishing drag-schuyts, is a point of the utmost importance to accelerate the improvement of all these colonies. Paramaribo has long been populous; the division of labor is carried farther there than it can be in our newer towns; many of the arts of refinement and luxury are already practiced, and would soon carry their accommodations along the road from the metropolis. There is a redundant population, which would come to the relief of our wants, and by setting at liberty a part of the artificers, would supply new cultivators of the ground. I exhort the administrative bodies to complete the road from Stabroek through New Amsterdam to Paramaribo.

In the Canje are several very fine estates, one of which I visited, a coffee plantation that had been in cultivation forty years. The coffee is a beautiful evergreen, which usually rises to a height of nine or ten feet on a smooth grey stem five or six inches diameter. The leaves resemble those of the bay-tree; the flowers those of the jessamin. When the white and fragrant blossoms drop off, they leave a small fruit behind, which is green at first, then red, and which contains two seeds, or kernels, called coffee. The fruit is gathered by shaking the tree, is received on mats and laid to dry in the sun, after which operation the husk becomes sufficiently brittle to be crushed with a wooden roller and separated by sifting.

The husk has much of the flavor of the kernel; an infusion is made with it which the slaves drink. Coffee plantations have usually a pleasing garden-like and picturesque appearance: none more conspicuously so than that on which I had to stop. It belonged to a Dutchman; every thing appeared in the greatest order; the dwelling-house, an elegant brick mansion, stood in the midst of a garden, which the occupier took the greatest delight in; even the negro cottages were built on brick foundations, neatly boarded and covered in with shingles. Many grey headed negroes worn with age and labor, were inmates of these comfortable abodes; they had retired from the busy scenes of life to take care of their poultry, while their sons and daughters wielded the shovel and the hoe. Before these huts were several groupes, consisting of between forty and fifty negro children, who with sportive playfulness, were passing the time away until the dinner bell should bring their parents from the fields.

Well pleased with this scene, I could not resist the worthy proprietor's invitation of dining with him, though we had never seen each other before; our segars and sangaree previous to dinner, gave to conversation, the appearance of a long standing friendship: we interchanged our ideas respecting the slave trade and the treatment of negroes, though he was of the old school, he agreed with me. I complimented him on the order and arrangement of his negro

houses, and the number of children on the estate, as a certain proof of his humanity; I observed that the aged and grey headed negroes I had seen in the cottages, proved that he had treated them well in their young days, and now that they were past labor, he provided for them with the careful hand of a kind protector, it gave the most indelible test of his being a worthy man. He said he had been in the colony upwards of forty years, all of which time had been bestowed upon negroes; he had been a proprietor thirty years, he was not affluent, but he underwent personal deprivations to render his negroes comfortable, whose claims he considered preferable to his own; thinking and acting as he did, he was a gainer, his negroes were happy and contented, their work was done with ease and his estate improved, the produce of that begot a second and a third, "should I not then be a villain to "discard or ill treat my negroes now they are old and past "labor. No! no! my friend, I have learnt that humanity "is the best policy, and in the end will produce riches." Our sentiments being so congenial it was late ere I parted from this worthy Dutchman. Having walked from New Amsterdam, my kind host insisted on my taking his tent boat, which was accordingly manned for the purpose, and I arrived in town at nine o'clock at night, highly gratified with my trip, and pleased with the business which introduced me to such a character in a Dutchman.

The negro population of Berbice is doubled within the last ten years, principally owing to importations of the English merchants and planters, who had extended their concerns and cultivation of the vacant lands. It amounts to about forty thousand souls; one thousand free people of colour, and two thousand five hundred whites. Deprived of the means of augmenting the population of negroes by importation, it has been clearly proved that an average decrement takes place of two per cent per annum, unaided by any other disorders than those which are common to the colonies; the small pock, the yellow fever, or a scarcity,* such as to render a change of diet necessary, are circumstances which will make the deaths ten per cent instead of two.

Situated then as these colonies are, it would be almost utter destruction to them to incur an immediate abolition of the slave trade. It must be gradual, a series of years must be allowed for effecting this important object, and proportioning the sexes. Before such a step is taken, the questions for and against it should be canvassed on all sides, and in every form.

* The scarcity of colonial provision in 1803, obliged the planters to feed the negroes on flour, rice, and maize, which disagreed with them so much, that many of them died of dysenteries and other complaints.

The colonies in Guyana, independently of supplies they have received from Africa, are daily getting more negroes from the West India islands, some of which being nearly worn out from long cultivation, the proprietors of estates there find it very difficult and expensive to make them produce what they used to do. Circumstanced as they are, working on a withered soil, they are certainly justified in abandoning that land for better in Guyana, where there is such an extensive choice. The natural consequence we are to expect from such a procedure in the course of time is the total abandonment of the barren islands for the more fertile soil of the continent. The islands I allude to are Curasso, Eustatia, Saba, St. Martins, Tortola, Tobago, Grenada, and St. Vincent, which will be either partially or wholly forsaken in a few years. When I was at Tortola in 1805, there was neither a garrison to defend it, nor a governor to govern it; therefore it is visibly enough seen that the then ministry did not think the revenue or value of it would warrant the expence of maintaining a regular establishment there. Barbadoes is declining fast in its revenue and productions, but its situation being to windward of all the other islands, and having a good bay, makes it a most desirable place to be retained by our government. It is now the head quarters for the commander in chief, and Carlisle bay affords a secure anchorage for the navy on the station. But the planters of Barbadoes have as much capital employed in the colonies on the continent, as they have actually in Barbadoes; this certainly is

a strange assertion to make, but it is no less true, and will always be the case while Guyana presents such a boundless track of country to cultivate; indeed I have no hesitation in saying that Demerary owes its present situation and importance to Barbadoes. The planters from that island first emigrated with their negroes, and their rapid successes were an inducement for other islands to follow the example. The English planters having so much capital employed there, with other circumstances, was the inducement for the British to take it in 1796, which fully completed what had been so ably begun; the English merchants, struck with the advantages offered them by the capture of the colonies, spared no pains to form establishments and extend cultivation, which eventually raised them to the rank they now hold.

CHAPTER IX.

BERBICE, A DISTINCT COLONY—VAN BATENBURG NOT A POPULAR GOVERNOR—BOUNDARY OF BERBICE EXTENDED IN 1799, BY HIS MANAGEMENT—MUTINY OF THE DUTCH TROOPS DURING THE AUTHOR'S STAY—ARMAMENT OF THE INDIANS IN BEHALF OF THE INHABITANTS.

THE government of Berbice is separate from that of Essequebo and Demerary; this appeared to be a fact unknown to General Grinfield and Sir Samuel Hood, in September 1803, when they demanded, in their summons to his excellency the governor of Essequebo and Demerary, the surrender of Berbice, which he was incapable of granting. In 1796, when the colony capitulated to the British, his excellency Abraham Van Batenburg, was retained in his government, until the colony was surrendered to the Batavian troops by the peace of Amiens, when he, as an English governor, of course resigned the reins to a provisional government, consisting of two members of the court of police. The Batavian government not having sent an ostensible governor in the establishment intended for Berbice, report named several persons who were

to be appointed to the office, it was indeed mentioned that Mr. Van Batenburg, the late governor, was to be reinstated; he certainly took his departure from the colony for Holland, and took England in his way, where the commencement of hostilities obliged him to remain.

Information having reached England that the colonies were again in the possession of the British, it appeared as if the fates determined Mr. Van Batenburg to be a governor; for he, though a Dutchman, was appointed governor of Berbice, an English colony!! Being provided with powers from the court of St. James, and a commission under his Majesty's sign manual, he arrived in Berbice and displaced Lieut.-Col. Nicholson, who was appointed for the interim by the commanders of the expedition to whom the colonies surrendered. By the laws of Great Britain, no foreigner can be placed in any ostensible place under government, or appointed governor of any colony, island, place, or any of its dependencies; this was a stretch however of the Addingtonian power, which was also put in force at Demerary, by sending Mr. Beaujon there, another foreigner, as governor.

Though the government of Berbice is separate from that of Essequebo and Demerary, the code of laws is the same, with some exceptions as to general rules. Governor Van Batenburg, after he was returned to the government of Berbice

by the British ministry, has in several instances exceeded his powers, in such a manner as to induce the colonists to come to resolutions and present a memorial to his majesty, setting forth their grievances; they also appointed agents in London to carry these measures into execution. The charges preferred were these:

Depriving the colonists of their right and franchise, by an arbitrary dismissal of two members of the court, and appointing others in their stead, without taking the voice of the inhabitants:

Making new laws and regulations respecting the port of Berbice *without taking the advice of the court of police*, which deprived the merchants and planters from sending their produce to Demerary to be shipped for England, or employed for the discharge of such debts as they might contract in Stabroek for supplies and plantation stores, which could not be procured in Berbice; thereby causing considerable dissatisfaction and jealousy between the two colonies, and an absolute check to receiving farther supplies:

Irregularly administratring the property belonging by capture to the crown of Great Britain, making a mal-appropriation of the proceeds, and converting the labor of the colony negroes to individual advantage, leaving the colonial business undone,

and the fortifications almost untenable and incapable of defence at a time when the combined squadrons were in these seas. Various other charges were brought against Governor Van Batenburg, which are stated in the resolutions.

The meetings of the colonists were held at one of the taverns in New Amsterdam, which, by the unjustifiable mandates of the said governor, was thereupon closed, thus depriving an industrious man of the only means he had of obtaining a livelihood. No other pretext was given for this proceeding, than that the tavern keeper refused obeying his excellency's order for not permitting any seditious meetings at his house. Another step which the governor took to harrass and exert his power over the planters, was to make an immediate demand upon them for "*acre geldt*," viz. acre money, to the levy of which the recent extension of boundary had in no small degree augmented his rights.

When Surinam capitulated to the British in August 1799, his excellency, Governor Van Batenburg, went there to negotiate with Governor Frederici, respecting the land between the Devil's Creek and the Courantine; and on his return he made the result known, which was, that Surinam had conceded to Berbice the track of country between the Devil's Creek and the river Courantine. This addition of territory was a favourable circumstance for Berbice. The sea coast extending nearly

fifty miles, and the west bank of the Courantine were immediately surveyed and laid out into regular allotments: and though grants could not be obtained for them from Holland, and the British government would not interfere in them, the governor and court of police gave sufficient recommendations, or provisional grants, which induced speculators and adventurers to commence their labors. Carriage roads were now made, and communications were opened with the Courantine, the west bank of which river soon participated in the cultivation of the sea coast; the former in coffee and plantations, and the latter in cotton. Nothing was now wanting to proceed to Surinam by land, but the same active exertions on that side the Courantine, which the Berbice planters had manifested on their part.

British capital, industry, and perseverance, had accomplished in eight years, what would not have been done by any other means in half a century. They had populated and brought into an useful state, a track of country which appeared by nature attached to the sea, a low marshy sea coast, covered with overgrown timber and underwood, and inundated by every rising tide, was now transformed into a colony, bestowing riches on its founders and support to several thousand individuals. The extent of this land, stolen, if I may use the term, from the sea, is one hundred and fifty miles, between the Demerary and Courantine. Carriage roads were

made upon it sixty feet broad, with six-foot parapets on each side for the convenience of travelling.

The exertions of the British on the Essequebo and Pomaroon coasts, met with equal eventual success, but the consequences were not so rapid; they had to contend against many local inconveniences which the Berbiceans had not.

During 1803, when Berbice was in possession of the Batavian Republic, and under the provisional government: the Dutch troops garrisoned there, felt all the miseries which bad food, bad barracks, bad pay, and bad medical attendance could possibly impose: the ravages made on them by the climate aided by the other circumstances, rendered their situation indeed deplorable, even worse than that of the troops in Demerary. Remonstrances followed each other without avail, they were disregarded and treated with neglect. A party was even made among the officers; some sided with the claims of the men, others with the commanding officer. The neglect of the government, and the unrelenting mandates of Col. Matthias, their commandant, soon bred contempt; and an utter disrespect to orders was followed by a mutiny, which obliged the commandant and a few followers, to evacuate fort St. Andrew, and take possession of the government house, which was fortified; from this post they were obliged to retreat pre-

cipitately to York redoubt, on the opposite side of the river, whence dispatches were sent to Demerary and Surinam, with an account of their situation. The soldiery at Demerary were little better inclined, from their horrid treatment, than the mutineers; however, a hundred men, all that could be trusted, were sent to Berbice, under the command of Major Van Hamers, to co-operate with those at York redoubt. The mutineers were headed by one of their own captains, who imprudently, rather than wisely, joined them, with a view of obtaining by force, a redress of their grievances; they behaved uncommonly well to all the colonists, especially the English; the provisional governors were put under an arrest, and the centinel who was placed over them, having allowed them to escape, was immediately shot by the mutineers. They hoisted an English jack at the fort, with a piece of beef placed on the head of the flag staff, and sent a deputation to a respectable English planter, to request he would take the government of the colony on himself, and that the troops would enter into the British service, and defend the colony, until forces could arrive from Barbadoes to take possession; these offers were of course mildly rejected, they however received the thanks of many individuals for their conduct to the inhabitants, which was uniformly good.

Important business called me to Berbice at this time, and on the 7th May, 1803, having provided myself with a pass-

port, I embarked on board a sloop belonging to a free negro, called La Rose. At six o'clock in the morning, the tide answered, there was a little wind, but the stream of the Demerary soon swept us outside the mouth of the river, where we caught a breeze from the N. E. which continued all day. I retired into the cabin, where I amused myself with smoaking and reading till evening. I then went on deck to enjoy the refreshing breeze, and about eleven P. M. discovered the river Berbice, we immediately shaped our course for the west entrance of the river, to get under the protection of the York redoubt, when we were boarded by a boat from the Serpent Batavian schooner of war, who took a pilot from us to bring in some vessels outside the bar from Surinam, with troops on board, soon after that we were brought to by a gun from the battery, who ordered to anchor at the ferry, and not go over to New Amsterdam, as the insurgents fired at every boat that crossed. I was of course happy to be under any protection, being the only white man on board the sloop, and therefore landed at the ferry at Mynheer D'Hanckars; before my servant could bring my portmanteau and writing desk on shore, the vessel, with all her hands, were pressed to convey troops from the vessels outside the bar to this place. Mynheer D'Hanckar's I found was the head quarters of Col. Matthias and officers, Major Van Hamers too and the troops from Demerary were also here, and mustering thus early, two o'clock in the morning, in order to cross the river to attack

the fort. A council of war was sitting to determine on the propriety of this measure without waiting for the co-operation of the Surinam forces; Major Van Hamers and the officers under him were impatient for an immediate attack, that their troops might have the honor of quelling the insurrection, thinking no doubt that news of troops having arrived from Surinam, would be sufficient to induce the mutineers to surrender to an inferior force. Before day light, therefore, the troops from Demerary were embarked on board the Serpent, which got under weigh at five A. M. the wind was against their getting over, and exposed them to a galling fire from the mutineers, directed from the government house and fort St. Andrew. In tacking too close in shore on the west side the river, the Serpent grounded, and was obliged to remain until the flood made, when she floated, and was joined by two colony schooners with troops from the Surinam vessels. During the whole of this day (8th May) a continual fire was kept up between the two forts. The fire from the mutineers was ill directed, and the guns of York redoubt fell short in their distance, therefore no harm was done by this sort of warfare. At four P. M. the vessels got underweigh to make another attempt on the town and government house; they were obliged to edge up the river to keep out of gun shot reach, which were fired without intermission by the mutineers, they however effected a landing above New Amsterdam.

Government house was evacuated, and the insurgents retreated across the Canje; they were pursued by a party of the Surinam troops, when a partial engagement took place; the troops crossed the Canje, but were soon obliged to retreat, the mutineers having extended themselves on both sides the road in a field of cotton, fired upon them from their place of ambush, as a company of riflemen; several were wounded and one life lost; none of the insurgents, as it appeared afterwards, were hurt in this affray. The 9th of May was employed in collecting the remainder of the forces from Surinam, and the evening was the appointed time for making an attack on the fort; the Serpent was to attempt a landing of troops on the side next the river, while a strong body was to attack it on the land side; little doubt was entertained for the success of this plan. The following morning, Captain Van Evers commanding the troops from Surinam, very politely offered me a conveyance across the river in his boat, which I accepted; we were obliged to land a considerable way above New Amsterdam, to keep out of reach of the shot which were flying in all directions from the fort; they were evidently intended against the post at government house, but the artillery was so ill directed, that many of them went into the town, and others obliged the vessels and boats in the river to slip their cables. The burghers were called out to preserve the peace of the town, and two large ships were pressed for the service as prison ships. I was amused by a very novel scene, about two

o'clock, which was the arrival of forty canoes in New Amsterdam, full of Indians; they consisted of upwards of four hundred, and had been collected in different parts of the river by their respective chiefs, to protect the town and assist the inhabitants to regain possession of the fort. On their landing, they were regularly ranged under their respective chieftains, the canoes were disincumbered of their provisions, and hauled up above high water mark. They were then conducted in separate bodies to outhouses and other buildings, which were lent them for quarters. It is needless to say they were well received and accommodated by the inhabitants with every necessary, which to their wild uncultivated taste was luxury.

The appearance of these naked warriors was indeed singular. I have before remarked, that the Indians are low in stature, stout, well made, with long black hair, and strings of beads round their ancles and wrists, the only covering in point of dress is a piece of blue India salempores, except the captains or heads of a clan, who are distinguished by a European suit of cloaths, and the hereditary or acquired staff of office. Their bows were slung at their backs, accompanied with a quiver full of poisoned arrows, and another pointed at the end with steel like javelins; in their hands they carried a club about two feet long, considerably larger at one end than the other, the edges are made so very sharp, and the wood being of the hardest kind, that a blow, aimed by a person who knows

the use of these weapons, is sufficient not only to stun, but to kill a man on the spot.

The Dutch have always been attentive to conciliate the Indians. About the year 1770, General Desalve sent over to Europe from Berbice, an Indian youth, named Weekee, who resided for education at Bergen-op-zoom. He was taught at his own request, to be something of a tailor, and something of a cook, imagining he could then provide, after the European manner, for his back and for his belly. But finding himself, with all his acquirements, no nearer the obtainal of cloth and food, he ceased to value these dexterities. After a year or two, he expressed a longing desire to return to the colony, and was no sooner landed on the shores of Guyana, than he stripped off his European incumbrances, and returned to his native woods, where he ended his days as he began them, among the beloved companions of his youth, in nakedness, idleness, and freedom. Had this lad been apprenticed to a carpenter, or a blacksmith, it is probable he would have found both the means and motive to have used his acquirements at home: these are the mechanic arts which first station themselves among savages, and which become the causes of the succeeding steps in civilization.

The policy of the British government is much to be commended for following the practice of the Dutch, in keeping

up the alliance with so faithful and so useful a body a men, at least to the welfare of these colonies, as the Indians are. They are always ready to take the field, and are the foremost to check any disturbance of the negroes, they are also an impediment to their desertion, and from their peregrinations in the interior, and on the borders of the European settlements, are the means of preserving many misguided wretches, who in attempting to leave their masters, would find the worst of deaths in an almost impenetrable forest—that occasioned by hunger.

The expence of maintaining a good understanding with our Indian allies, is very trifling; a few hundred pounds in the course of a year, invested in fowling pieces, gun powder, knives, hatchets, felling axes, glass beads, India salempores, and rum, is sufficient. And the presenting of these things to the chieftains, occasions a demand for them among the people. The principal articles we buy of the native Indians are, balsam capivi, bees wax, letter wood, bows and arrows, canoes, hammocks, monkies, parrots and parroquets, cassarepo, Indian houses in epitome, and any similar curiosities they bring from the interior. In return for which they receive fish hooks, looking glasses, blue and striped cottons, India bafts, corals, and the abovementioned wares.

A company of soldiers who had taken post at the mouth of Canje river, was attacked by a party of the mutineers, who having covered themselves in some underwood and bushes, obliged the troops to retire, with the loss of one killed and two wounded. During the afternoon of the 10th May, several of the insurgents from the fort surrendered themselves prisoners, and in the evening a proposition was sent to surrender the fort, on conditions which were however refused. Just as the troops were forming themselves to make arrangements for the attack, another courier arrived to say, that the mutineers would give themselves up as prisoners, and stand their trials by court martial. This was accordingly acceded to, and upwards of three hundred men surrendered, only five of whom were found guilty on their trials, and shot. The captain, who commanded the insurgents, could not be tried in the colony, but was sent to Holland for that purpose, where he was found guilty and executed. The Indian auxiliaries were gratified by presents of cutlery, were hospitably entertained, and contentedly dismissed.

CHAPTER X.

FORMER SERVICES OF THE INDIANS TO THE COLONY ON THE BERBICE—INCIPIENT SETTLEMENTS ON THE ABARY, THE MAHAICONY, AND ESPECIALLY THE MAHAICA—SALUBRITY OF THAT SETTLEMENT—PROFITS OF COTTON-PLANTING———SHOCK OF AN EARTHQUAKE ACCOUNTED FOR—PROGRESS OF SETTLEMENT ON THE RIVER POMAROON—ON THE CAPOYA CREEK—RAPID INCREASE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE.

THIS late occasion is far from being the only one in which the Caribbees have testified a strong predilection for the planters on the Berbice, and for the general interests of subordination. In the year 1763 an insurrection happened among the slaves of this colony, who rebelled to the amount of several thousands, and massacred a considerable number of the white inhabitants, while the rest fled to fort Nassau, where, fearing their communication with the sea coast might be obstructed, the then governor, by the advice of his council, precipitately blew up the fort, and retired, with the white inhabitants, on

board several merchant ships in the river, and sailed to its entrance, there to wait for assistance from abroad. This retreat left the rebels in undisturbed possession of the whole colony, and threw the inhabitants of the neighbouring colonies, particularly of Demerary and Essequebo, into the utmost consternation, as they were the most contiguous to Berbice, and apprehended a visit from the rebels, which must have been attended with the most unhappy consequences, as their own slaves were at least five times more numerous than the white inhabitants, and betrayed so eager a disposition for revolting, that it was feared they would not have patience to wait for assistance from their brethren in Berbice.

In this critical situation, however, they experienced the advantage of their connection with the subjects of Great Britain, as at this time a ship of war, belonging to Gedney Clarke, Esq. collector of his majesty's customs at Barbadoes, which had been put into commission by Admiral Douglas, and was commanded by a lieutenant of the British navy, arrived with a company of marines, and another of soldiers, raised at the expence of Mr. Clarke, who was proprietor of several plantations in Demerary, as were several other gentlemen of Barbadoes. This armament effectually frustrated the rebellious designs of the slaves in Demerary, and the civil dissentions among the rebels of Berbice diverted them from their intended visit. In the interim, however, the governor of Berbice re-

ceived a body of soldiers from Surinam, and several armed vessels from the islands of Curasso and St. Eustatia, with which he sailed up the river, and took possession of the Dauger-head, a large plantation belonging to the West India company, where he maintained himself till the arrival of an armament from Holland; when the rebels were soon driven into the woods, whence hunger, and the arrows of the Indians, obliged them to return, and seek an asylum in their former slavery. Several hundred of the chief promoters of this insurrection were however burnt, or broke on the wheel, with all the various species of cruelty for which the Dutch were then notorious. Before this, however, several hundreds of the Carribbee Indians were, by the governor of Essequebo and Demerary, engaged to take up arms against the rebels, whom they not a little harrassed, concealing themselves in the woods by day, and setting fire to their houses in the night, by shooting arrows fired at the point among the troolies, with which they were thatched, and then killing the negroes as they fled out in confusion.

The Indians have a sincere dislike and contempt for the blacks; considering them apparently as an inferior race, born, like cattle, to labour for the service of their betters. Of the rights of intellect to exert control, they have an instinctive conviction; and are still less scrupulous than the Europeans, about the means of maintaining ascendancy. With them,

tenderness begins where fear ends; there is in all their affections, a something of contempt; it is extended to women, to children, to the young, rarely to the adult. They are grateful to the most punctilious honor; but like people, who feel an obligation as an indignity, and who, being defied to an emulation of good offices, wish to surpass in them. A white planter, in this district, who showed hospitality to a travelling Indian family, of which the woman happened to lie in at his house, was called on a year after by the husband, and presented with a beautiful female slave, the booty of a remote campaign. The negroes, on the contrary, have a something fawning in their affection, like men who solicit and not who vouchsafe protection.

Between the Berbice and the Demerary, there are three small rivers, the Abary, the Mahaicony, so called from the mahogany trees on its banks, and the Mahaica, which has long had a reputation for peculiar salubrity. Military posts have been established there, to which sick soldiers were transferred; strangers attacked with the seasoning, were sent thither for recovery. Experience still supports this character for wholesomeness; and it begins to be considered as an expedient luxury to have a villa on the Mahaica, whither to retire in case of the yellow fever, or other contagion, entering the province. Thus a considerable settlement has been formed. The village of Mahaica is situated on a small river of that name,

thirty miles east of Stabroek; it takes its course from that of Demerary, and empties itself into the sea; it is navigable for colony craft twenty miles up, the banks on each side are under cultivation in coffee, cotton, and sugar; the entrance and bar of this river is very dangerous, and cannot be crossed at low ebb. A military post and captain's guard is stationed at the mouth of the river. The ferry and its environs are pleasantly situated. There is in the neighbourhood, a great deal of wood, well adapted for ship-building: and many ship-carpenters are constantly on the spot and at work: but as the sand-banks, at the mouth of the stream, debar exit or entrance to large ships, no considerable constructions can here be completed, and launched with effect. The circumstance of many married families having settled here, makes the society stand high, and indeed unrivalled by any other part of the colonies. Continual parties of pleasure, attended by military music, undertake excursions up the river, sometimes hand-fireworks are exhibited on the water, and every amusement calculated to please, is offered by the hospitable inhabitants of Mahaica, to render their visitors happy. I never enjoyed more than here, the luxury of a tropical night, after a heat and glare almost intolerable. A brisk sea-breeze still blew, bringing with the murmurs the coolness of the spray. We ordered our cane chairs under the orange trees, our segars and sangaree; and sat basking in the moonlight and the wind—turning toward the refreshing air—admiring the beautiful serenity of the dark-blue sky—the

brightness of the stars distinct at the very horizon—the planet Venus casting a sensible shadow—the moon so luminous as to read by—and the thousands of fire-flies hovering about the shrubs, or shaken in sparkling showers from the boughs. The faces of the negroes gladden—the sprawling groupes begin to quench their pipes, to talk, to stir, to laugh, to sing —they are proposing the dance, and will shortly surround our contemplative repose, with the spectacle of graceful activity and cheering enjoyment; their postures are more lascivious than would be thought decent in Europe.

From the ferry a navigable canal is cut, which runs about eight miles up the coast, parallel with the sea, where it is met by another leading from Mahaicony Creek; these canals afford considerable advantage to the planters, both in drainage and conveyance of produce and plantation stores, to and from the different harbours or shipping places; though almost every estate has a canal large enough for the reception of a boat, yet there is a degree of danger sometimes attending their getting in; a contrary wind or rough sea are obstacles frequently thrown in their way; if this plan of inland carriage was adopted throughout the colonies, it would be highly beneficial, and might be the means of preventing so many of the colony schooners, that sail coastways, from being taken by the piccaroon boats and privateers from the Orinoko, which are fitted out in time of war.

A merchant, in the commencement of 1799, knowing that he should require a large parcel of cotton to ship, of the ensuing crop, made engagements with a planter of Mahaica, to give him two thousand five hundred pounds for the crop of his estate, taking upon himself the risk of its being more or less. The average production for the last two or three years, did not exceed twenty thousand weight, which made it evidently a risk for the purchaser. However, the goodness of the season, soon recompensed him, and before two months of the crop time was expired, a larger quantity of cotton was picked than was necessary to pay the purchase money. By considerable attention and assiduity in hiring and giving rewards to the negroes for their exertions, and by complimenting the manager with half a pipe of wine, a larger crop was made than the most sanguine expectation could have suggested. It amounted to sixty thousand weight, and gave a profit to the purchaser of six thousand pounds sterling. This fortunate hit, with others of a similar sort, which extended themselves throughout the colonies, gave an additional zest to cotton planting, many of the planters of that article were enabled to pay off their encumbrances, and retired to live in England on the produce of their estates. Hence it is said, that one good crop in five, makes a cotton planter's fortune. These circumstances, combined, certainly tended to increase the cultivation of cotton, and

were the means of inducing more settlers and speculators to reside among us.

A shock arising from an earthquake at a considerable distance toward the interior, was felt here, and at Stabroek, on the 10th of December, 1802. It was still more sensible along the Essequebo, but not at all in the Berbice: so that it must have come from a south-west direction, and have nearly spent itself. These shocks are not unfrequent, but they seldom do harm in the flat country. They seem to arise from some efforts in the land to lift itself higher, and to grow upwards; for the land is constantly pushing the sea (which of course must retain the same level) to a greater distance; the inundations of the interior are less frequent, the tides extend less far, and the coast estates, as they are called, become inland property. The incessant efforts of crystallization thrusting its innumerable wedges under the foundations of the mountains, or some other less obvious fossil processes, may cause this gradual elevation of whole continents. The area of lifted land, in order to fill, at a higher level, the surface of globe which it formerly covered, must diverge, and crack into perpendicular fissures. This operation seems to be the cause of earthquake, and is universally accompanied, as far as I can learn, with the ingulphment or absorption of large quantities of water, and sometimes with the subsidence of the sides of the fissures. This

constant shooting upwards of the land, which is so sensible in the West Indies, has been little heeded by European mineralogists.

The mineralogy of Guyana is a subject still less investigated. It cannot be doubted that, within water-carriage of our settlements, there must be lime-stone rocks: lime, or rather its material, has been so profusely scattered by nature, that it forms the basis of the exterior hills in almost all ridges of mountains. Yet we import, from Europe, the lime, which we use in the sugar manufactory. How vast an economy would result from providing and burning it at home. The very shells on our coast would supply the requisite quantity of lime, if it were thought worth while to collect and to burn them. But it seems to be the intention of nature that every people should have something to fetch from a distance, in order to unite, by the ties of commerce, the distant quarters of the world. Agriculture still offers a boundless and a profitable field of employment; the other arts are seldom domesticated, until a superfluous population begins to become inquisitive for the means of earning a subsistence.

The high price of land on the east coast of Demerary had advanced so much, as soon induced adventurers, with a small capital, to seek for other lands at a distance from Stabroek, which from that circumstance could be purchased at a much

lower price; an extensive range of sea coast to the westward of Essequebo, called the Arabische Coast, and Pomaroon river, and the coast contiguous to it, presented themselves as eligible situations for cultivation, and accordingly a number of adventurers found settlements there, which are at this time held in as high estimation for the production of cotton, as any land in the colonies. The west coast of Pomaroon juts on the boundary of the Orinoko, where there is a military post established.

Since the English took possession of the colonies, they have cultivated the whole of that coast, extending upwards of fifty miles, and are now making estates on the banks of the Pomaroon, which river is half a mile broad at its entrance, and is difficult of access, from projecting banks of mud on each side; and a bar of the same consistency, which runs across, prevents any vessels entering drawing more than nine feet water.

Up the edges of this river, the melancholy traces of ancient cultivation, and abandoned residences, are frequently apparent. Above the fork, formed by the junction of the Harlipyak with the Pomaroon, the Hollanders had formerly three settlements of some extent. Fort Zealand, which the English destroyed in 1666; Middleburg, which at the same period was plundered and abandoned; and Harlipyak, which borrowed or lent the name of the contiguous stream. The present

English system of cultivation begins with the lands nearest to the sea; but the Dutch, probably from the fear of those buccaneering expeditions, of which Sir Walter Raleigh had given a specimen, at the expence of the Spanish settlers in Guyana, began, but fruitlessly, their establishments at the interior extremity of the lowlands, and as far up the different rivers as they found the navigation convenient, and the soil docile. I trust it will not be long before the British have covered the reproachful traces of ruin and desertion, with new dwellings and wider cultivation.

The estates already made between the Essequebo and Pomaroon rivers, are variously valued from five to eighty thousand pounds sterling each, according to the extent of cultivation, number of negroes, buildings, &c. &c. This coast possesses a considerable advantage over the other sea coasts, from its being able to rear any quantity of plantains, the land being so very luxuriant and rich, while those estates on the east coast of Demerary, are obliged to purchase plantains *weekly* in the river, and keep a craft employed in conveying them for the support of the negroes.

The plantain or bannanna tree, is a native of Guyana, and produces fruit nine months after planted, it is about ten feet high; one plant produces three or four stems, which grow perfectly straight, but are cut down within six inches of the

ground, after the fruit is gathered, and in succession, it produces another crop. A plantain has nearly the shape of a parsnip or carrot, but continues of equal circumference to both ends, and is guarded from the rays of the sun, by a thick peal or skin; when roasted, it is more like bread than any other vegetable, and is produced in bunches, which weigh from fifty to seventy pounds.

The only usual species of grain are the maize, or Indian corn, which produces six weeks or two months after planted; and the Guinea corn, which only yields one or two crops in a year. The Guinea and Scotch grass are cultivated in preference to hay, and produce abundance of fodder for cattle; negroes are employed regularly in cutting grass for the supply of the town, which they dispose of for a shilling per bundle.

Cotton is the only produce which this Pomaroon coast avails itself of to any degree of excellence, for which purpose it is equally as good as any other land in the colonies. Of sugar and coffee, there are estates, but neither answer so well as cotton, from the being land too rich and saline. It is a fact that the land improves with every crop that is taken off, as does also the quality of its production. The cultivators and settlers of this coast had a great deal to contend with in accomplishing what they have; a marshy track of country, covered with immense heavy bush, was entirely to be drained, cleared, and

planted by new negroes; and the first settlers were so scattered about, as to be ten and fifteen miles from each other, or any cultivated estates; and then, the only method of getting to them, was by a boat or canoe, by which means they were also obliged, for the first year, to convey their plantains, till they could have their own planted. The planters and negroes were, also in the first instance, obliged, until they could build temporary huts, to sleep in the open air, with their hammocks hung between two trees; this was a pretty hard trial for both negroes and master, but nothing to what they are continually obliged to bear in the settlement of new estates. They had not very liberal encouragement, as the east coast planters had examined the land, and declared it incapable of producing cotton, and would not answer cultivating.

The new adventurers were stimulated by a desire to excel, and by industry and perseverance, soon got a crop off, but which, from the richness of the soil and youngness of the trees, did not produce as much as was expected, from their growing more into wood and branches, than pod; they then took in more land, and planted with cotton and plantains; the trees which yielded before, had now grown to a proper age, and the ensuing crop sufficiently repaid them, by producing a quarter of a pound of cotton per tree; and indeed at the end of six years, these estates improved themselves, and would produce tree for tree, as much as the east coast. This

gave general satisfaction, though the east and west coast planters still have a little sparring. In 1799 and 1800, the rage for cotton planting, was greatly increased by the largest crops ever known to be produced in the colonies, and the price it fetched at market, exceeded every former limit. From the season being so very favourable, it was computed that every tree produced a pound of net cotton, although the general average is never calculated at more than one fourth.

The price in the English markets, gradually advanced from two shillings and sixpence to four shillings per pound, and almost all the large crop fortunately arrived for sale, and benefitted by the rising prices. The crop commenced in September, and continued, with little or no intermission, until July following; and such was the immense blow and quantity of cotton on the trees, that a great deal was lost and blown away before it could be picked. Many estates hired negroes at three, four, and five shillings per day, under an idea of preserving the cotton, by picking it in time, and on Sundays, those negroes who were willing to work, were paid in the same proportion by their proprietors. Negroes too belonging to sugar and coffee estates, willingly hired themselves for that day, to pick cotton for the neighbouring plantations.

From several transactions which came under my inspection, I had an opportunity of knowing that considerable profitable

speculations were made by the merchants, who purchasing at a low price, shipped the cotton so as to meet the market in England just described. Two, three, and even four thousand pounds have been cleared by one shipment.

The Kapoya creek, which lies between the Essequebo and the Pomaroon, is also beginning to exhibit its villas, its logies, its sugar-houses, and its windmills; but the established set of crops are raised every where in the same way, and few attempts are made to enrich the country by new articles of produce. A great service might be rendered to us by the introduction of some East India plants—of the bamboo for instance —which is applicable to so many mechanical purposes of common life, and which some of the lascars in Trinidad, could teach us to employ. Its natural soil is on the delta of rivers, in such mud-islands as we inhabit.

It appears to me that a distinct exploiteur ought to be appointed for each of the rivers, and that the grants of land ought all to be made on the principle of an increasing quit-rent. The local officers might in some degree depend on a central institution at Paramaribo, an arrangement which could easily be made instrumental to the revenue of the state and to the comfort of individuals. Perhaps the Courantine offers the most expedient field for the next enterprizes of plantation. Its contiguity to the Surinam, would afford great facilities in

the supply of the first wants, both of provision and construction; and its settlement would complete an inland communication between all the English colonies in Guyana.

The importation into Liverpool in 1796, of cotton, from the Essequebo and Demerary, was six thousand bales, since which time the quantity has gradually increased, and in 1804, amounted to twenty-four thousand, nine hundred, and seventy bales. The increase also into the ports of London, Glasgow, and Bristol, have been upon the same extensive scale.

CHAPTER XI.

INCREASE OF SUGAR ESTATES, AS WELL ON THE COAST AS IN THE RIVERS—EXPENSIVE UNDERTAKINGS—SEASONED NEGROES—SAILORS AND TRADESMEN IMPORTED FROM THE ISLANDS ON ADVANTAGEOUS TERMS TO THEMSELVES——CIRCUMSTANCE WHICH OCCURRED AT THE SALE OF AN AFRICAN CARGO—PROOF OF GRATITUDE IN NEGROES—A MELANCHOLY STORY—TASK GANGS—WOOD CUTTERS—VISIT TO AN ECCENTRIC CHARACTER——ACCOUNT OF HIS ESTABLISHMENT.

MOST of the emigrants from the West India islands have hitherto engaged themselves principally in sugar planting, by which means the number of estates for that article are increased five to one. The genius of the Dutch could never thoroughly dive into the proper method of manufacture, and, for want of capital to carry their measures into effect, they almost all failed, and never arrived to any perfection.

Such was the rage for making sugar estates, which our islanders had introduced into the colony, that several were

founded at an enormous expence on the sea coast. This land was always considered too saline, and the difficulty, from the shallowness of the water, in landing the heavy articles required for the buildings, such as bricks, lime, mill timber and frames, coppers, stills, and iron work, made the old colonists fearful of engaging in such an undertaking, until the enterprising and dashing Englishmen launched into it, and boldly sunk in accomplishing their object, some thirty, forty, and fifty thousand pounds, in making a plantation. One gentleman from the islands, purchased three sugar estates of foreigners, valued at one hundred thousand pounds, sixty of which he paid in bills, on London, at sixty and ninety days sight; the balance was paid in equal instalments, with interest. I mention this circumstance merely to give an idea of the individual speculation which was carried on at the time of the surrender, under the idea of the colonies being kept by Great Britain at peace.

Seasoned and valuable negroes, used to plantation work, were imported in considerable numbers from the West Indies, to assist in agriculture. Men brought up and used to the sea, were also brought over to instruct our negroes in the management of the colony boats and craft. Many of them were free, who engaged themselves for that purpose, and others were sold on most advantageous terms to themselves; so that after a certain period of service, they were intitled to their freedom

and wages. Some of them, besides being provided with provisions and grog, received three joes, or five pounds ten shillings sterling per month, which eventually enabled many an individual to purchase a share of his master's boat, or to get one for himself, in which case he would be as a carrier, or droger, to those estates which did not keep craft of their own. If he was a careful industrious servant, his employer generally found it for his interest to take him into partnership, or allow him a proportion of the profits arising from his carrying for other estates. In a similar way were negro and mulatto tradesmen, such as carpenters, bricklayers, coopers, millwrights, tailors, and shoemakers, induced to come over and settle among us. These people, of course, worked under the direction of white merchants, who had been engaged and brought over from England and Scotland, but principally from the latter. By these means, we not only increased our number of good tradesmen by importation, but induced many of our own negroes to become such, by apprenticing them to that trade they preferred; young boys, from the age of twelve to fifteen, were generally fixed on for that purpose, and it has been remarked of the African negroes, that those of the Congo and Elbo nations were the better adapted, and quicker at acquiring a knowledge of a trade, than any others. I knew a carpenter, who had from fifteen to twenty boys belonging to different people, that were articled to him for two, three, and four years. I cannot conceive for what reason such long ap-

prenticeships to the mechanic arts have been introduced in England. The rudest African learns in three years any of the common handiworks: and can the European, accustomed from his childhood to see them exercised, and to handle their tools and their wrought ware, require more than double the time? It is a great oppression to a young man to find his labour, from eighteen to twenty-one, has been contracted for by his parents at half its value.

I once witnessed a curious debate between two negro boys in a sale room where the cargo of an African ship was landed. I observed all of them dancing and singing previous to getting their dinners, except these two boys, who were apart from the rest, and appeared from their manner of speaking and gestures, to be talking on some very interesting subject. I was induced to draw nearer them, when the eldest of the two explained to me, by signs and broken English, (which he had acquired in some of the factories on the coast of Africa, and from the sailors in the course of his passage) that the other boy was afraid he was going to be sold to white men to be eaten; while he had been attempting to impress on his mind, that the intention of his being brought there, was to work. I soon eased the boy's mind by taking him into the yard, where there were some carpenters at work, and putting a hammer into his hand, made him to understand that he was to learn to build houses and work with the carpenters; at which, he

began hammering and knocking away to shew his willingness, then ran to me and hugged me, pointed to my mouth and then to himself, at which I shook my head with abhorrence. The poor fellow was remarkably pleased at my assurance that we were not cannibals, and I had soon the pleasure of seeing him join his comrades in their dancing and singing, with a heart free from care. The next day I had an opportunity of getting him a good purchaser, who, at my request, made him a carpenter. I frequently saw him afterwards, and he always thanked me with apparent gratitude, for what I had done for him. The other being a clever quick lad, was taken by the person who had the sale of the cargo, and intended for a cook, but not liking such a dull inactive life, he preferred being a sailor, and was accordingly, through my interference, put into a colony boat for that purpose. I was afterwards often with him at sea, and always had reason to believe he would do any thing in his power to serve me. When my segars were done, in consequence of being out longer than I expected, from contrary winds or other causes, Jem, for that was his name, has frequently deprived himself of his leaf tobacco, to make me segars. I am fully convinced he saved my life, by extricating me from a situation I had imprudently placed myself in one day while bathing; I got nearly out of my depth, and from not being able to swim, the current, which was running at the rate of six miles an hour, quite overpowered me, and prevented my return to shore. Jem, who was on board the

schooner, which was at that time lying aground at the point of Walkenaam island, at the mouth of the Essequebo river, where the circumstance happened, perceived my situation, plunged into the water, and succeeded in getting me alongside, where with the assistance of the small boat, he brought me on board, heartily tired with my bathing excursion, and my arms, neck, and shoulders, completely blistered by the sun. At another time I had an opportunity of seeing him particularly active in attempting to save the captain of the schooner, a white man, who unfortunately fell overboard. We were going very fast at the time before the wind; the small boat happened to be towing astern; Jem, and another negro jumped in and cut the tow rope, but their good intent was frustrated, it was too late, the watery deep had closed over him. When the accident happened, it was nearly dark, we came to anchor and hoisted a lanthorn at the mast head, as a signal for the boat to find us. It was a long two hours before it returned from the fruitless search, in which time, however, I could not but remark how much the remaining negroes were affected, and admired their assiduity in providing something warm and nourishing for the captain, in case he should be taken up, an event they expected, from his being such a good swimmer, until the boat returned, when their disappointment and grief were excessive. These circumstances tended to raise the African race high in my estimation, and satisfied me that gratitude and affection could be made prominent features in

their disposition when properly treated and soothed. I am convinced their's is a character but superficially known, and is worthy of a particular investigation.

From an increase of cultivated extent of country, employment for negroes of course followed, and as those planters who began with small capitals, were debarred the advantage of stocking their estates with a sufficient number of labourers, the most expedient plan for accomplishing their work, was to hire negroes. Managers and overseers of estates are always enabled, by frugality, to save as much from their salaries as to purchase a negro, whom they let or hire out to work. The next year they can purchase two, and the year after, two more. In this progressive manner, many men have laid the foundation of fortunes. The possession of one negro, has eventually made them owners of fifteen or twenty, at which time they are formed into a Task Gang; which is so called from its undertaking to do a specific quantity of work, such as clearing and preparing so many acres of land, draining and planting the same; which they are paid for by the acre. Many of these gangs are in existence, and are of great utility to new settlers. Some of them have fixed residences up the rivers and creeks, and when plantation work does not offer, are employed in timber cutting for the building of houses, mill frames, and various other uses so constantly in request on estates. In Europe, the abolition of vassalage seems to have

grown out of the institution of task gangs. The guilds of the burghers, which prepared the way for all the chartered liberties of the people, were originally purse clubs, founded to prevent the artisans from becoming chargeable, in seasons of distress, to the landlord on whose estate they were born. If our task gangs were encouraged by the government, to appropriate a part of their earnings for the attainment of a like independence, companies of free labourers would insensibly be formed, and only agriculture would remain a servile occupation.

We export to the islands, a large quantity of mill timbers, for the erection of sugar works. The forests also supply us in a great measure with shingles, wallaba staves, and hoops for sugar hogsheads. The fuel which is used in the manufacture of sugar and distillation of rum, we also provide ourselves with in abundance; whereas the estates in the West India islands are obliged to use coals. The valuable woods are sometimes exported to England for the cabinet-makers. A considerable quantity of our hard woods, especially the teteuna and sieurbally are sawed into planks for the boat builders' use; they are most esteemed for that purpose. A flat bottomed boat, called a punt, is much used in the rivers, creeks, and canals, for the conveyance of produce; they are square at both ends, and will not live at sea.

The Dutch, as I have before stated, generally live in sumptuous elegant houses, and in other respects, in a manner which fully proves they are set down for life. Having, however, one day, some business to transact with Mynheer Vos, of Essequebo, I was convinced this was not, like many other things, a general rule without an exception. Mynheer V. possesses an unincumbered estate worth twenty thousand pounds, has no other relative in the world, than a natural daughter by an Indian, to leave it to; he is between sixty and seventy, and came to the colony as a common soldier about 1770. He contrived, while in that situation, by buying and selling little articles, to amass so much as to purchase his discharge, and to reserve a few hundred guilders to trade on. With them he purchased a sloop boat, hired a negro, and commenced regular hoopman, or huckster, by selling on those estates he went to, such articles as he had; and after a week or two's cruize, he would return to town and replenish his stock for another trading voyage. This course of life he continued for many years, without having any regular house; he met with several reverses of fortune, and once or twice was nearly ruined by the loss of his little cargoes, from the vessels getting ashore on the sand banks at the mouth of the Essequebo, where, to lighten his boat, he was obliged to throw the cargo overboard. These mishaps did not damp his ardor, but on the contrary, proved a stimulus. He now built himself a hut on the west coast of Demerary, which was intended

for a repository of merchandize. His water excursions became more periodical, and he carried, at one time, only a part of his wares to be freer from risk. The profits of trade were next invested in the surer enterprizes of agriculture. In 1785, he purchased the land where he now lives, consisting of five hundred acres, and commenced the arduous task of clearing it of the heavy forest trees and bush, with three negroes and himself.

The singularities of this man are many, as such, I shall make no apology for animadverting on those the most striking and characteristic. The intention of my visit to him was to receive a thousand pounds, which was then due on his note. I was surprised, in the first instance, on my arrival at the middle path of his estate, or road, leading to the buildings, at not seeing any bridge, or the least trace of one, over the ditch, which was cut across for conveying the water off. How, in the name of convenience, has this man, thought I to myself, lived here twenty years without feeling the want of a bridge; thinking, however, was of no avail, I leaped my horse over, and followed; The shadow of a foot path, indistinctly perceptible from being overgrown by weeds and grass, led me to a negro hut, where I enquired for the house of the proprietor, expecting that it would be hid from the road in some rural retreat or grove of orange trees. Judge my surprise when an old Indian woman came to the door and told me in a jargon of wretched Eng-

lish and Dutch that, this was Mynheer's residence, and that he was in the field with the negroes. I alighted, and desired he might be called. Cudgo, an old negro superintending others in cleaning cotton, took my horse, and Miss Vos, commonly called Quasheba, a yellow buckeen girl, with long black hair, about the age of twelve or thirteen, and without shoes, was sent for her father. The Indian woman, who proved to be her mother, now insisted on my walking in, out of the sun. I was accordingly shewn into a sort of apartment, indeed the only one there was, which served for parlour, dining room, chamber, and kitchen; in fact this was a room for every purpose.

I was now seated on a bench and left to ruminate. The roof of the house was covered in with plantain leaves, time had made several apertures in it, which admitted air, rain, or sun as it occurred; the sides and gable ends were secured by manicole trees split and slightly tied together. The light was admitted by a wooden shutter, which was kept open by a piece of stick. The roof afforded a favourable retreat for centipedes, scorpions, and cockroaches, and the ants, which were creeping about the clay floor, seemed to be the only scavengers of the habitation. A large carpenter's chest contained all his pantry, and kitchen utensils; an old deal table, two stools, and a bench, completed the scanty furniture; save two or three empty gin cases, whose flasks were converted into water bottles. A hammock was slung from the cross

beams, and a mattress stuffed with plantain leaves and covered with cotton bagging, was lying in one corner. A hogshead of salt fish, a barrel each of salt beef, tobacco and salt, had been rolled into another. To this variety of articles, must also be added, to make up the inventory, a few smoked queriman, which were extended from the ceiling, twenty or thirty bunches of plantains, and several thousand ears of Indian corn or maize, with three or four old shovels. Scarcely was there ever such a collection of filth, vermin, household furniture, plantation stores, and provisions ever got together before. The other end of the building was occupied by sick negroes, who were then employed in picking and cleaning cotton; the center was filled with ginnies, machines used for separating the seed from the wool. I was soon driven from my seat by some dirt, which fell on my head from the ceiling, on looking up, I discovered several chickens sitting on the beams, which accounted for it. There appeared to be a considerable quantity of stock feeding about the house, such as turkies, ducks, fowls, cabborettos, and pigs, which, on enquiry afterwards, I found to belong to the Indian lady of the mansion.

I was soon apprised of Mynheer Vos's arrival, by his blowing a shell at the door to call his negroes in to dinner; after which he made his appearance, gave me a most cordial shake of the hand, as is the custom of the country, and inquired

after my health; we were obliged to hold the conversation in our respective languages.

I will attempt a description of his person and dress. He is nearly six feet high, very thin and emaciated, his face, hands, and feet, for he had no shoes on, bore strong marks of the climate, much wrinkled, and the colour of a piece of tanned leather, his chin was graced with a month's length of beard. His hat, made of plantain leaves, was very broad in the brim, he had a pipe in his mouth, about two inches long in the tube, which was perfectly blacked from frequent application to the fire; an umbrella, which he carried in his hand, was covered with a thin sort of brown dowlas, not much unlike Scotch Osnaburgh. The jacket and trowsers were made of Russia duck, which, with a checked shirt, comprised the whole of his dress. This grotesque figure, however, received me with the utmost cordiality, and getting a gin bottle from the chest, offered me a sapie, which he had poured into a calabash, but this I declined accepting; however, drink with him I must, and therefore preferred a little lemonade, which was made with lime juice and molasses, and then strained through a piece of cotton bagging. We then went to business. Mynheer made me half a hundred apologies for the trouble I had had in calling for the money, as it was his intention to come to Stabroek to pay it, he had just sold his cotton for a bill of ninety days sight, for the

amount I wanted; and taking an old Dutch writing desk, of the fifteenth century, from under the table, asked me for his *acceptatie*, (note of hand) which I accordingly gave him, when he presented me with a set of drafts on a respectable house in London, for one thousand pounds. I then took some more of his lemonade and called for my horse, which he insisted on leading over the ditch at the road side, where we parted, mutually satisfied, at least I was so, with my visit.

This curious mixture of European industry, arithmetic, and frugality, with a Carribbee indifference to luxury, grace, and accommodation, is perhaps the form toward which the back-settlers of these districts insensibly tend. By degrees the whole class of planters, who can live like Westfalian boors in the same apartment with their pigs and horses, will find that by ceding the fee simple of an estate just brought into cultivation, and by constantly breaking up fresh lands, they can increase their property more rapidly than by a stationary industry. Whenever we have a regular set of wood-clearers, or primary settlers, the progress of colonization in Guyana, will be as rapid as in the most fertile parts of North America. European emigrants will land at the sea ports and accommodate themselves with the completer properties in the neighbourhood of the great town, and within reach of the luxuries they want: but their descendants will learn the simpler man-

ners and more natural habits of the old indigenous nations, and will carry into the interior, the useful and the profitable, without the unnecessary arts.

To the natives of lower Germany, this whole province is well adapted, and is peculiarly inviting. Their own language, manners, and system of vassalage, has, in a great degree, been already naturalized here by the Dutch; so that emigrants from Bremen, or the Hanoverian territory, would feel less strange, and have less to learn and to alter, in order to adapt themselves to the colony, than any other Europeans. The English must, perhaps, be excepted, whose predominance is astonishing, considering the novelty of their footing; and who seem already to counterpoise the Dutch as a landed interest, and to outnumber them as a mercantile interest.

The progress of Mr. Vos, in about thirty years, from a common soldier to a planter, who can give his daughter a fortune of twenty thousand pounds, has in it little but what hundreds may expect to rival. There must be a constitution superior to the climate and to intemperance; there must be frugality, industry, perseverance; there must be some knowledge of writing and accounts, and much alert observation: yet this progress has been orderly, at no one moment remarkable, nor the effect of luck, but of permanent causes.

If the young British farmers were aware how various and amusing are our rustic occupations; how profuse is the profit which attends every little exertion of industry; how richly productive is the incessant vegetation of our excellent soil and climate; and how much of natural luxury there is in the habits and gratifications of the civilized planter, they would more commonly migrate to a country, where the fee simple of an estate costs less than the renewal of a lease in England, and where the superintendence of an agricultural concern, confers not merely the rank of a country gentleman, but that baron-like authority over the growing population of the vassals, which the ancestors of the country gentlemen enjoyed in England during the feudal ages.

CHAPTER XII.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ANIMALS—DEER, CALLED BAJEER AND WIRREBOCARRA——HOGS, CALLED PICAREE AND WARREE——RABBITS——TIGERS——ARMADILLO——APES——SLOTH——PORCUPINE——LAUBBA——ALLIGATOR—MANATI—BATS——GUANA——ABOMA——SMALL SNAKES——PIPA——LOWLOW—BARROKETA—PERI—QUERIMAN——GALVANIC EEL——SUN BIRD—SURINAM FALCON——BUTCHER BIRD——MACKAW——ACUSHE——FLAMINGO——TIGERFOWL——TOUCAN——SPOON-BILL——POWESE——MARRODEE——MOCK BIRD—RICE BIRD—KISHEE—INSECTS.

IT is my intention now to give a concise account of the animals and vegetables which are most worthy attention among the native productions of these colonies. Several animals have been imported which are not natural to any part of America, as the horse, the ass, the zebra, the bull, the cow, the sheep, and the hog. Some of these afford instances of the power of climate, in altering the natural qualities of animals, when transported from their own to a foreign country. The bull and the cow grow here to a greater size than in Eu-

rope, but what they have gained in size, they have lost in the delicacy of their flesh, which is not so tender or so fine in flavor, as that of Europe. The wool of the sheep is converted into hair by the change of climate. Some of these imported animals have got loose, and multiplied. In many places large droves of hogs run wild, and in some of the savannahs, the bull and the cow are found in the same wild state.

I am now however to describe the native animals of this country.

There are two kinds of deer, of which the smaller is called wirrebocerra, the larger bajeer. The bajeer is about the size of an English buck, and is covered by a short hair of a reddish color, but on the belly white; its head is large, its eyes bright, its ears are long and hang down, its horns are short and curved, its neck is short, and it has a short thick tail. These animals feed in great numbers in the savannahs of the interior, and frequently approach the plantations, where they are often killed by the native hunters. Their flesh is good, but far inferior in delicacy and taste to that of the wirrebocerra.

The wirrebocerra is considerably smaller than the bajeer, and is cloathed by a short soft hair of a reddish yellow colour. It is of a very slender make, its legs are slender but strong, and its feet are cloven; its head is small, and without horns,

its eyes sharp and piercing, its ears conical, its neck long and arched, and it has a short tail. It is very timid and swift of foot, which protects it from the tigers, and other voracious animals. The flesh of the wirrebocerra is considered to be the finest of the deer kind.

The goat is much smaller than that of Europe; its horns are short, slender, and curved downward. In other particulars it is similar to the European goat. It has from three to five kids at a litter.

There are two kinds of hogs, peculiar to tropical America, and very numerous in all parts of Guyana, the picaree and the warree. The warree hog is about the size of a European hog, and much like it in shape. Its tusks are larger, its ears smaller, and its bristles longer and coarser. These animals run in large droves, and their flesh is more delicate than English pork.

The picaree is considerably smaller than the warree. It is covered by yellowish bristles, which are longer and more numerous on the back, and has a light mark coming down on each shoulder. It has short tusks and no tail. On the back over the hinder legs is a gland, having a cavity about an inch deep, into which pours a white fluid of a very fetid odour.

The picarees go in large herds, are very prolific, and are most frequently to be met with in low marshy places. The flesh of this animal is much admired by the natives, who, as soon as they kill them, immediately cut out the gland upon the back, to prevent the meat from being tainted.

The Indian coney, as it is called by the Europeans, or the puccarara, by the natives, is common to all parts of Guyana. It is very like both in size and shape to the hare. Its ears are smaller and rounded, and it has no tail. The shape of the head, the division of the hip, and the colour of the fur are like those of the hare. It burrows in the earth, and is very prolific.

Of all the animals which are eaten by the inhabitants, this is the most numerous. It is easily taken. The flesh forms a considerable part of the food of the inhabitants, which is very delicate, and like that of a rabbit.

The tiger is precisely similar in the shape of its body, to the tiger of Africa, but is smaller in size, and more slender in make. The colour of its hair is a greyish brown, with black stripes disposed longitudinally. The hair of the belly is white, with black stripes; its tail is almost eighteen inches long, covered with alternate rings of brown and black. It is a very

fierce animal, frequently making attacks upon the sheep and hogs of the plantations, and even sometimes upon the natives, especially at the breeding season.

The tiger cat of Guyana is something larger than a common house cat; its eyes fiery, longer tail and ears, and the skin is variegated with spots like the leopard's; it is uncommonly ferocious. I have seen a tame one play with a rabbit for some time, and afterwards kill and eat it. On at tempting to take away his prey, he would immediately fly at the person.

The lynx is about the size of a large hound, and similar in shape to the tiger cat; its head is formed, and the coat striped like that of the tiger; it has long whiskers at the mouth, and its claws are very much curved. The lynx is a very ferocious animal, but never attacks man.

The tatta or armadillo, is nearly three feet in length from the end of the snout to that of the tail. The length of the head is about four inches, of the body about a foot and a half, and of the tail about a foot. Its body is covered thus: over the shoulders is a hard shell, over the hips is another shell, and between these are nine girdles covered by scales of a triangular form, and united by a strong membrane. Thus this

shelly covering has numerous joints, by which it can vary its form according to the movements of the animal. Its head, snout, and ears, are very much like those of a pig, its tail is thick near the body, where there are several rings, that gradually taper to a point; its feet are short and covered by scales, each fore foot has four toes, and each hind foot five. This animal burrows in the sandy hills distant from the sea; when young, its flesh is very tender and delicate, but when old, it has a strong disagreeable taste.

Animals of the ape kind are very numerous and various in this part of the world.

According to the account of the natives, the oran-outang is to be met with in the woods, and is much larger than that of Africa or Asia, being five feet high. But these accounts merely depend upon the evidence of the natives, as one of these animals has never been seen by any European.

There is an ape commonly called a quato, which is about two feet in length. Its face is bald, but its body is covered with black hair; it has a nose like that of a negro, large ears like the human, and deeply sunken eyes; it has no tail. The quato is sometimes tamed, but notwithstanding, is very mischievous. The female menstruates regularly.

The howling baboon is about the size of a fox, covered with smooth black hair; its ears are smaller, and its eyes not so deep as those of the quato, and it has a long black beard; the tail is covered with hair, excepting at the end. These animals are very numerous. They sometimes assemble in large numbers, and set up the most disgusting yell imaginable, which they keep up for a long time. This happens almost always before rain, and is a sure sign of its coming, as is also the croaking of frogs.

The saccawinkee is the smallest monkey that has been found here. The whole trunk is about six inches long; its head is small, its ears are round, its nose is flat, its eyes prominent and black, and its face covered with fine white hair; its body is cloathed with long black hair, whitish at the end; its tail is about nine inches long, and covered with long black hair. These animals are frequently tamed, but never live longer than a few months.

There are two species of the sloth here, one called the ai, the other the unan. The ai is about the size of a fox, and is covered by bushy hair of a dirty grey colour; its hind legs are much shorter than its fore, by which formation it is assisted in climbing trees; each foot has three long sharp claws, by which it clings to branches; its head is round, and it has a very large mouth in proportion to the size of the head; its

eyes are languid, and its voice somewhat like that of a kitten. The curious characteristic from which it has received its name, is its uncommon aversion to motion. When beaten, instead of quickening its pace, it sends out the most doleful noise. Some have said, that when upon the ground, it takes a day to travel forty or fifty paces, and that it spends no less than two days to mount a tree of a moderate size. When once mounted, it never descends whilst leaf, bud, or fruit, remains for it to devour. This animal coils itself up into a ball, so as often to escape detection. Its flesh is much liked by the natives. The other species of the sloth, the unan, differs from the ai only in a few particulars; its head is not so round, its hair, instead of being grey and bushy, is lank and red, and it has only two claws upon each foot.

The porcupine is not very common here. It measures nearly three feet from the tip of the nose to the root of the tail; it has a round head, large piercing eyes, small round ears, and whiskers like those of a cat; the whole body and part of the tail are covered with sharp highly polished prickles, about three inches long; these prickles are white at the points, approaching to a black in the middle, and yellow next the skin. They generally lie flat upon the back, but when the animal is irritated, they are set up. It has a long tail, which twists round the branches of trees for support. Its feet are much like those of a monkey.

The laubba is an animal peculiar to this part of the world, is about the size of a large cat, and is covered by fine brown hair, with round white spots; the hair under the belly is white, the body is round and thick, the head is like that of a pug dog; the eyes and ears are small, the neck is short, it has no tail, and little feet. The laubba is an amphibious animal, and feeds upon herbs and grain. When pursued, it will swim a long time at a short distance from the surface of the water, so that it is often shot under water with arrows. The flesh is very delicate, and is much admired, tasting something like pork.

Alligators are frequently seen in the rivers near the sea. Their length, when full grown, is about twenty feet, and their shape much like the common lizard. They are a harmless, but not a pleasing animal. The upper part of the tail has a sharp edge, which is gapped like a saw. Over the eye is a protuberance about the size of a large orange, which is hard, and covered by a scaly coat. The skin of alligators is so thick that a musket ball will not pierce it, except about the head, where it is not so hard. At low water they will come to lie in the mud and bask in the sun-shine, when their young ones, about four feet in length, are often killed by the natives.

The manatee, or as it is sometimes called, the sea cow, is about sixteen feet or more in length, and several feet in circumference; it is covered with a black rough skin, upon which are large wrinkles and inequalities, particularly on the sides, and is scantily supplied with hairs. The breasts, upon which are two fleshy fins about a foot and a half in length, resemble those of a woman: the tail is somewhat like a whale's. The head is like that of a hog, and the nostrils like those of an ox. It has auditory holes, but no external ears. The eyes, which are very small, are placed between the ears and snout. Its mouth is large, and beset with bristles on each side; without teeth in the front, and its tongue is so small as to be scarce seen in the mouth: its neck is very short. Most commonly, it is found in fresh water rivers, but sometimes on the coast: it never quits the water entirely. The flesh of the manatee is fat, and much like veal.

The bats are twice as large as those of England, and are without tails. They are covered with brown hair, of which the texture is very soft and fine. The inhabitants usually sleep in hammocks, so that the feet are mostly uncovered: whilst they are asleep, the bats often open the veins of the feet without waking them, and then suck till they are satisfied; and the person upon waking finds himself faint, and his feet bathed in blood. They make similar attacks upon cattle.

Here is an animal of the lizard kind, called guana. It is about three feet long; its skin is brown, with blue marks on the body, and black spots on the neck, and is covered with small scales. Its back and tail are sharp, and indented; its mouth is armed with sharp teeth; it has a bag under the throat, and crooked claws upon its toes. These guanas are generally found among fruit trees, where the natives shoot them with arrows, and esteem their flesh a great delicacy, which is much like that of a chicken; the eggs are very fine.

We have a great number and variety of lizards here, which, however, it would be tedious to describe.

The snakes in this part of the world are mentioned as various and dangerous. The largest that has ever been found is the aboma. Snakes of this kind have been killed measuring upwards of twenty feet, and they are even said to measure, when full grown, thirty feet in length, and three feet in circumference, at the middle and largest part of the body. I have seen one which lay stretched quite across the road. It is of a brown colour, with black spots upon the back, and upon the sides are black spots with a white center. It is largest in the middle, and grows smaller as you approach the end of the tail. Its head is broad, its mouth wide, with two rows of teeth, its eyes projecting and sparkling, and near the tail are

two claws. This enormous but sluggish animal, is not officiously mischievous; it can devour deer and hogs: it entangles them in its grasp, smears them with saliva, and then swallows them whole. These snakes have been killed with the half digested remains of deer in them. The aboma is an amphibious animal.

Other smaller snakes, which climb trees and catch monkies and birds; and some water-snakes, which devour the wild fowls, are to be met with, but they are neither so common nor so venomous as is supposed. I have seldom seen any. Perhaps the hogs have thinned their numbers.

The pipa is one of those animals which at first view every one pronounces deformed and hideous; the general uncouthness of its shape being often aggravated by a phenomenon unexampled in the rest of the animal world, viz. the young in various stages of exclusion proceeding from cells dispersed over the back of the parent. The size of the pipa considerably exceeds that of the common toad; the body is of a flattish form; the head like a short cone; the mouth very wide but covered at the corners with jagged gelatinous lips. The fore feet have four and the hind feet five toes: these last are united by webs. The male pipa is larger than the female; both have a dark brown colour on the back, but the belly of

the female is more yellowish. The back of the female is covered with granules, which may be considered as so many teats, to which the offspring attach themselves. The spawn is deposited in ditches; and the progeny, after acquiring the tadpole form, is assisted by the father to fasten on the mother's back, where they nestle until the second transformation is completed.

On the coast and in the rivers, are a variety of fish, many of which differ so little from those which are well known in England, that I shall only select the most curious for description.

The lowlow is a salt water fish; it is about six feet in length and three feet in circumference. Its colour is a light blue, with a metallic splendour. It has six fins, one pair a little below the head, another pair on the belly, a single fin on the back, and another large one at the end of the tail. It has a long boney head and a wide mouth.

The barroketa is about three feet in length, and two feet in circumference; it is much like a salmon, excepting in its scales, which are larger, and its body which is rounder. The barroketa is found in plenty at the upper part of rivers: the flesh is white, fat, and delicate. This is the largest fresh water fish found in our streams.

The peri is another fresh water fish; its length is about eighteen inches, and its breadth, for it is flat, about three inches; it has a broad head and large mouth, armed with long sharp teeth; it has four fins, one pair on the belly just below the head, a single fin on the back, and another at the end of the tail. It is very formidable to swimmers, as it bites at every thing in its reach, and instances are related of women having a breast taken off by this fish.

The queriman, a fish about the size and equally as good as a salmon, is caught on the coasts with a cast net in shallow water.

The galvanic eel, so remarkable for the power of giving a sensation similar to the electric shock to any one who touches it, is commonly about three feet in length, and twelve inches in circumference at the largest part of the body. Its skin is smooth, without scales, and of a light blue colour. From seven or eight inches below the body to the end of the tail, it gradually tapers to a point, and the body separated from the fins is almost round. It has three fins, one pair on the back of the head, and a long single fin on the belly, which reaches from the head to the tail, and which diminishes in size with the body. Its head is as large as the largest circumference of the body, and flatted on the upper and lower sides, on the

former of which, are several holes. It has a wide mouth without teeth. When the fish is grasped with the hand, a galvanic shock is received; a similar effect takes place when touched with a metallic rod, when held by a hook and line, or even where there is no other conductor but the air, if the hand be very near the fish. This shock depends upon the will of the animal, for if it is not irritated, the hand may be held near without perceiving any sensation. The galvanic eel is an inhabitant of fresh water, and is often found in the river Essequebo. It appears to be unable to live long without the access of air, as it very frequently comes to the surface of the water to fetch breath. It lives principally upon small fish, and is itself eaten by the natives.

The frog fish of Guyana is a great curiosity, I never saw but one which embraced the properties of both, as they go through the regular gradations of a frog, a frog fish, and a fish.

We have a large land crab here, which is much eaten by the inhabitants. It is of a square form, each side being about two inches and a half long, and of a light blue, or whitish colour. It has many legs, and two large claws like those of a lobster. These crabs live in holes in the mud,, on the shores of the sea and rivers near their mouths, and at low water appear in great numbers on the mud.

The fish which are caught on our coast are far from being delicate, as the water is very muddy for thirteen or fourteen leagues from the shore.

I shall next endeavour to give an idea of the birds which are natural here, and which are most worthy our attention.

The sun bird is not unlike the partridge of England, but a little larger; when procured tame they are kept in houses to destroy the ants, with which this land abounds.

The Surinam falcon is about the size of a hawk; the head and upper part of the body is covered with feathers of a light brown, the under part has feathers spotted with yellow and brown; the feathers of the tail are like those of the under part of the body, and the legs are yellow; the beak is crooked, and at the root is a substance, in appearance, like wax; the tongue is cloven. This bird can inflate his head to nearly the size of his body; he commits great depredations on the poultry of the plantations.

The strix or owl, is about the size of a thrush; it is covered with feathers of a light straw colour, shaded with white; the feathers of the breast are light straw, coloured spots upon a white ground; its legs are short and its claws black; its beak

is crooked and yellow, its head, eyes, and ears large, and its tongue divided in the middle.

The red lanius, or butcher bird, has feathers of a bright red colour, which on the wings and tail are spotted with black; its bill is straight, and near the point is a tooth on each side; its tongue is ragged and appears as if it had been torn.

The black and white butcher bird is covered with feathers, which are coloured with alternate marks of black and white; its legs and claws are of a dark colour; its bill is brown and tapering, and the end of the upper mandible bends over that of the lower.

The mackaws are the largest of the parrot kind. The blue and yellow mackaw is about the size of a capon, and is covered with feathers, which on the back part of the body are blue, on the fore part yellow; its legs are short and dark coloured; it has a black coloured band around the throat; a beak three inches long, wide, black and semicircular; the feathers on the top of the head are green, those about the face are black.

The mackaw is a fine majestic bird, about the size of a turkey; its plumage is of a superior red colour, and the long bushy tail provides the native Indians with elegant

feathers to adorn themselves; its bill is very large and of an uncommonly thick substance.

The red and blue mackaw is about the size of a hen. The feathers on the upper side of the wing are blue, those on the under are red; the tail is red in the middle and blue on the sides, and shaped somewhat like a wedge; its cheeks are without feathers; the upper mandible of black and white, the lower black.

The red and yellow mackaw is peculiar to Guyana, and is rather less than a common hen. It is covered with yellow feathers on the back and upper part of the wings, with blue and red on the tail, and with red on the top of the head and breast; the colour of the whole beak is black. This bird is not very common even here.

The acushe is the largest parrot found here, and is very common in Demerary. The feathers of its body are of a beautiful green colour, those on the top of the head are red, and the upper parts of the wings are edged with red; it has a long tail, of red, green, and blue feathers, with a long, slender, flesh-coloured bill.

Beside these, we have a great number and variety of the parrot kind, of which I could not give distinct ideas without plates.

The bird, called by the French, agame, by the natives canicani, and vulgarly the trumpeter from its voice, is peculiar to Guyana. It is about the size of a turkey; its body is without a tail, and of an oval figure; the feathers on the back are grey; those on the breast are blue and long, and those on the rest of the body are black; its legs are long, slender, and of a bluish green; the neck is long, the bill green and pointed, and the eyes bright; it is very tame, and is often kept among other poultry.

The flamingo, as it is called from its resemblance to the North American bird of that name, is about the size of a heron. It is covered with feathers of a bright scarlet colour, and is without a tail; its neck and limbs are long and slender; its head small, and the bill long, slender, and arched. These birds live together in numbers on the banks of the rivers, or on the shores of the sea. They are very tame, and often mix with the poultry on the plantations.

The tigri fowlo, or tiger bird, is about the size of a heron. It has a reddish colour, spotted with black; hence the name. The bill and legs are long, slender, and of a light green colour; the neck is long and covered with long depending feathers; the eyes are yellow, and the head small, upon which is a round black spot.

The toucan is about the size of a common pigeon; it is wholly black, with these exceptions only; there are two white spots on the fore part of the crown of the head; the throat and upper part of the breast are white, and there is a red mark in the form of a crescent between the white feathers of the breast and the black feathers of the belly; its beak is very large and red, six inches long; it has a long thin tongue, and its nostrils are behind the jaws.

The picus, or woodpecker, is about the size of the European woodpecker; it is covered with black and white feathers, excepting those of the crown of the head, and of the belly, which are red; its bill is straight, and its tongue long, round, and sharp.

The pelican, or spoon-bill, is covered with red feathers, excepting the head, which is bald, and of a white colour; its bill is straight, flat, and broad; it is about six inches long, toothless, and crooked at the point, which is rounded and broader than the rest; the upper mandible has a nail at the end, and a spoon-like cavity; it is transparent and is of a whitish brown colour; the lower mandible is more opaque than the upper, but of the same colour.

The peacock pheasant, or, as it is called by natives, powese, is rather smaller than an English turkey; the whole body,

except the belly, which is white, is covered with shining black feathers. On the crown of the head is an erect tuft of black feathers, mixed with white near the points, about an inch and a half in height; its bill is convex and about an inch and a half long, of a yellow colour, but blue at the point; the upper mandible is arched, and extends further than the lower. This bird is common along the Essequebo and Demarary. Its flesh may easily be taken for that of a turkey.

The marrodee is about the size of a pullet, and covered with very dark brown feathers; the bill is of a dark brown, and the legs, which are longer than those of a chicken, are grey. It is found in great numbers; the flesh is like that of a chicken, but not so delicate.

The harmaquau is somewhat like the marrodee. Its make is more slender, and its feathers black. The names of these two birds are given them by the natives from their cry, which has a like articulation.

The mocking bird is about the size of a black bird. Its body is covered with feathers of a shining black, excepting its breast and the upper edges of its wings, which, with the crown of its head, are crimson. Its bill is conical, gibbous, and flesh coloured. The nests, which are about fourteen inches in length, and about eight in circumference, hang from the branches

of the tallest trees, and are so tossed about by the wind, that if not for their length, the birds would be thrown out. These birds imitate many other songsters: whence their name. Their peculiar notes are very sweet, which is a rare quality here, where the greater number of the birds excel rather in the beauty of their plumage, than in the music of their voices.

The rice bird is about the size of the mocking bird. The feathers on every part of its body are black. Its bill is conical and gibbous. It has small black eyes, and the skin immediately around the eye is without feathers and white. It is commonly met with in the fields of rice.

The kishee-kishee, as it is called by the natives, is more lavishly decorated with splendid plumage, than any other known bird. It is about the size of a sparrow, with a straight conical pointed bill of a light red colour. Its plumage is adorned with the greatest beauty, splendor, and variety of colours, which are so mixed together, as to afford the eye of the beholder the greatest possible pleasure which can be received from colour. These birds are not found near the coast, but are brought from the inland parts of the country by the Indians.

The green sparrow is a beautiful bird. The head and back are green, the breast and belly are yellow, and the large feathers on the wings are edged with white.

The red-bellied blue bird is covered with blue feathers, excepting on the belly, where they are red. It has a straight bill, oval nostrils, and forked tongue.

The humming birds in this part of the world are in great number and variety. Their bill is sabulated, slender, and crooked, of which the upper mandible incloses the lower. The tongue consists of two threads, which are tubulous. They are the smallest of the feathered tribe, some not weighing more than fifty grains. Their nests, which are very small and made of cotton, are built by the female, upon the small twigs of fruit trees. The female lays two eggs at a time, about the size of a pea, which are white and transparent. Their food is the honey of flowers, which they suck by inserting their tongues into the flower, and support themselves, whilst sucking, by the motion of their wings, which make a humming noise.

The green and crimson humming bird is the most frequent here, but not the smallest. It is about the size of a large cherry. The feathers on the neck, back, and upper edges of the wings, are green. The breast is crimson, and the wings and tail are green, purple, and crimson. It has a small crimson tuft on the crown of the head; the head itself is small, the eyes round and black, the bill long, black, and slender.

The black humming bird is the smallest that has yet been found, being about one third smaller than the former. It is covered with feathers of a greenish brown colour, excepting the large ones of the wings and tail, which are of a shining black. All the feathers are beautifully glossy. Its bill is black, in thickness about equal to a pin, and bent near the end. It has a small tuft on the crown of the head, which is green at the bottom, but of a fine glittering gold colour at the top. These birds sometimes weigh less than fifty grains.

I have thus described some of the most curious of the feathered tribe, which are natural to Guyana. To particularize them all would require bulky volumes and numerous plates. There are wild ducks, teal, partridges, &c. which differ very little from those of England, and which it would be tedious to enumerate minutely.

Insects abound here in vast numbers, from the continued warmth of the climate, which is favourable to their production and longevity. I shall mention a few which invite attention by their curious history, or which compel attention by their stings.

The blatta, cock-roach, or caroche, is about an inch long, and of a brown reddish colour; its form is a flatted oval;

it has two soft wings, two long feelers, and six legs with forked extremities; it is a very destructive insect, as it devours victuals, and makes what remains disgusting from the disagreable smell which it leaves; it also gets into the trunks of travellers, and destroys linen and books.

The bees in this part of the world are quite unlike those of England, being nearly as small as the common fly, and of a black colour; they are armed with stings; they deposit their honey in the cavities of trees; the wax is dark brown, sweet, slightly mixed with bitter, and quite fluid.

There is a kind of ant, called the flying ant; it is almost an inch in length; the body is divided into two parts, which are united by a slender substance; on the fore part there are six legs, each of which has three joints; the head is of a triangular form, and has two feelers; it has four transparent wings of a brown colour. These creatures live under ground in the dry season, but in the wet, the rains drive them from their habitations, when they may be seen in vast swarms flying in the air.

There are two kinds of flies, called fire flies; the largest is more than an inch in length, and of a chesnut colour; it has a large head, two feelers, two wings, and six legs. Under the belly is a round luminous patch, and on each side of the

head is a prominent round luminous body. These animals in the dark emit a strong steady light, so that two or three put into a glass will enable you to read. The smaller fire fly is not above half the size of the former. They are never seen but by night, when they emit sparks of fire at intervals.

The palm-tree or groe-groe worm, is about three inches in length, and about the thickness of a man's finger. The head is black, and the body of a light yellow. This animal breeds in the heart of the cabbage tree after it is cut down. When roasted and seasoned, it is considered as very fine, and equal to any marrow.

The scorpion is about six inches long, of a light brown colour, with black spots; it has two claws proceeding from the neck, about an inch long, jointed and having a pair of nippers at the end; it has four pair of legs; the tail is jointed, forked, and armed with two small crooked sharp stings, of which the uppermost is the longest. The bite of this insect is venomous.

The centipede is about six inches in length and five lines in breadth; its body has twenty joints, to each of which belongs a pair of legs, so that it has forty legs instead of a hundred, as its name expresses; at each end it has a pair of forked feelers, and a pair of strong forceps at its head. It moves with equal

rapidity either backward or forward. Its bite is venomous and painful.

To these may be added the chigoe, a sort of flea, of a dusky color. This insect, as has already been observed, is very troublesome by insinuating itself under the skin of the feet; if not extracted, it forms for itself a bag, in which it deposits its eggs; these eggs are hatched, and the new insects form other bags and deposit other eggs; the consequence of this breeding are ulcers, which are difficult to heal, and very painful; but they are seldom suffered thus to breed undisturbed; they are picked out as soon as the itching which they produce is perceived, and the art consists in extracting the bag unbroken. These insects are very numerous.

CHAPTER XIII.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE MORE CONSPICUOUS VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS——CABBAGE-TREES——SILK-COTTON——PIPEIRAS—BULLET-TREE—IRON-WOOD—LAUNA, &c.

I NOW proceed to a description of the vegetables which are natural to this part of the world, and which, from their utility or curiosity, are most worthy of popular attention. Here I must necessarily be select. Volumes might easily be filled with a description of the plants which may be found in the plantations and woods of Guyana, but any thing like a comprehensive treatise is beyond my range of information.

The cabbage-tree grows to about the height of a hundred feet. Its trunk is seven or eight feet in circumference, straight, upright, tapering, and covered by a grey bark. The branches commence at about a hundred feet from the earth; they are twenty feet in length, of a green colour, and diverge in a horizontal direction. The leaves are about two feet and a half in length, and three inches in breadth near the trunk,

whence they diminish in size as they approach the end. They are pinnated and pointed at the extremity. They are disposed thickly on two opposite sides of each branch. Where the branches arise the bark is of a deep green colour. From the trunk near the lower branches arises a green husky pod, twenty inches long and four broad, wherein are produced numerous small nuts, which are the seeds from which the tree grows. The cabbage grows on the summit of the trunk, consisting of thin white strata, of the taste of an almond, and covered by a green thick skin.

The cockarito tree is of the same genus with the last, but does not grow higher than thirty feet. The external substance of the trunk is extremely hard, and is used by the Indians for pointing their arrows. The cabbage which this tree bears, is the most delicate of the species.

The silk-cotton-tree generally grows to the height of a hundred feet. Its trunk is about twelve feet in circumference, and is covered with an ash coloured bark, set with short thorns. The branches arise at about seventy feet from the ground. The leaves are long and narrow, and are disposed at the extremity of the branch in a circular form. The flower has five stamina and one pistil, and is placed just without the leaves. The flower falling off, is succeeded by a conical pod about four inches in length. The pod contains short silky filaments,

with small dark coloured seeds adhering to them. The silk-cotton-tree flowers every three years. The trunk is often made use of for canoes, which are formed by hollowing it with fire.

Of the pipeira-tree there are two kinds, the black and the yellow; the bark and wood of the former being much darker than those of the latter. The pipeira-tree, when full grown, is about seventy feet in height and nine feet in circumference. It is without branches until very near the top. The leaves are long, narrow, and terminate in a point. The flowers have four light yellowish petals, which fall off and are succeeded by a round fruit about an inch in diameter, affording a farinaceous food, which is sometimes used by the Indians for want of better. The timber is very weighty and durable.

The bullet tree is about fifty feet in height, and seven feet in circumference. Its bark is smooth and ash coloured. Its branches commence very near the top. Its leaves are long and narrow. It bears pentepetalous flowers of a reddish colour, somewhat blended with purple. The wood is of a dark colour, spotted with small white spots; it is very durable, and sinks in salt water.

The iron-wood tree, so called from the hardness, weight, and durability of its wood, is made use of for a variety of purposes, such as clubs and windmills. The trunk is about fifty

feet in height, and six feet in circumference, and is covered with a greyish bark. It bears white flowers, succeeded by small red berries.

The launa tree grows to the height of about fifty feet; is covered with a grey bark, and sends out numerous branches. The flowers, which are white, are succeeded by a fruit of the size and shape of an hen's egg; it is covered by a whitish green skin, and its substance is somewhat like an apple. The juice of the fruit is at first almost colourless, but in a short time acquires a deep purple colour. It is made use of by the Indians for painting their bodies. The colour, however, lasts only for a short time.

The red mangrove tree affords a most curious instance of the care with which nature protects her productions from surrounding dangers. This tree is of considerable size, and is covered by a grey bark; it has numerous branches, covered by oval leaves. It arises from several roots. The ramifications of each root unite into one small trunk, which pierces the earth, and rises two or three yards from the surface of the ground, before it unites with its fellows to form the main trunk of the tree. This tree grows in a loose wet soil, by the side of streams of water, and therefore is guarded from the injury which might arise from the instability of the soil. Slender shoots, about three inches in circumference, bare of

leaves or branches, and having joints at a few feet distance, grow from the trunk and branches of the tree in great abundance; these shoots descend, enter the earth, and take root, and thus afford support to the tree, which might otherwise fall, from the looseness of the soil, and the force of the water.

There is another species of the same tree, called the white upland mangrove, which, as it grows on firmer ground, has none of these supports.

The cassia fistula tree is between forty and fifty feet in height, and is covered with uneven light brown bark. At the end of the branches which arise near the top of the tree, grow clusters of the flowers. These have five yellowish petals, which falling off are followed by pods, about eighteen inches in length, and three in circumference. The pod is partitioned into cells, containing a sweet pulp, of the color of treacle.

The tetermer tree is about fifty feet in height, and eight feet in circumference; its bark is light and rough, and its branches are covered by light green leaves, about four inches in length, and two in breadth. The wood is very useful for a variety of purposes, and is much like mahogany in appearance, but not so hard.

The ducollabolla tree grows to the height of forty feet. The trunk is about twenty inches in diameter, and is covered by a rough reddish bark. The tree is wholly without branches until near the top. The wood is like mahogany, but excels it in colour, grain, hardness, and weight.

The bourracourra, or letter wood, is the heart of a tree which grows here. It commonly grows to the height ot thirty feet, and is about sixteen inches in diameter. The trunk is covered by a reddish bark, and sends out numerous branches, bearing purple flowers. When the bark and sap are cut away, the heart is about twelve inches in diameter. It is of a deep red colour, marked with black spots and figures; is very hard, solid, and ponderous, and receives a polish unequalled by any other wood. From the smallness of the quantity which can be procured from each tree, and from its beauty, it is very valuable, even here. It is worked into rows, walking sticks, &c.

The mahogany-tree has a cedar-like appearance, and grows to a height of fifty feet, which is rendered more conspicuous by its preferring a rocky station, where there is apparently little soil for its nutriment: it is not common, being less adapted for the flat humid land at the mouths of the rivers, than for the mountainous district of the interior. It is of the decandria monogynia class; the calyx has five segments, the

flowers five petals, the nectarium is cylindric, and bears anthers, the capsule is five-celled, ligneous, and opens at the base. The seeds are imbricated and winged like those of firs and pines.

The hearree-tree commonly grows to above twenty feet in height, and is covered by a rough grey bark, cloathed in a white moss. It has a few branches near the top, with rough green leaves. This tree grows near rivers, and at a distance from any other trees. It is esteemed a strong poison, and is said not to suffer any other vegetable to grow near it. If one of these trees be found on a plantation it is not destroyed, because the smoke of the wood when burning, is fatal to all kinds of animals.

The cocoa-tree, which is cultivated in the plantations, is seldom suffered to grow higher than fourteen feet, although in the interior of Guyana it grows wild to great heights. The trunk is about six inches in diameter, covered with a light green coloured bark, and destitute of branches as high as eight feet. The leaves are pinnated, nine inches long and three broad, of a light green color on the upper, of a dark green on the under surface, which is ribbed. The flowers arise from the trunk, or from the lower branches near the trunk. It consists of six petals of a flesh color spotted with red. When the petals fall off, the pod appears about the size and form of a melon, pointed at the end and having longitudinal grooves.

This is divided into longitudinal cavities, in which the nuts are placed in rows; they are about the size of a cherry, of an oblong rounded shape. The cocoa trees are planted in rows, at twelve or fourteen feet distance, and form beautiful and shady plantations.

The coffee-bush generally grows in the plantations to six feet in height. The trunk is covered with a bark of a greyish brown colour. The branches arise from the trunk near the earth, and grow all around in a horizontal direction. The lowest branches are about eighteen inches in length, but they grow shorter as they approach the top, so that a coffee-tree is in the shape of a cone. The leaves are about three inches long, and one and a half broad, pointed and green. The flower consists of five petals, several stamina and one pistil. The germ contains two kernels, covered by a pericarp. Of this fruit there are two crops in the year, and each tree yields about a pound and a half at a crop. The coffee-trees are planted in rows at the distance of five feet.

The cocoa-nut-tree grows to fifty or sixty feet in height, and is seldom either perfectly straight or erect. It is covered by a bark of an ash colour, which at the top of the tree becomes green. The branches commence very near the top. They are about fifteen feet long, and twenty or thirty in number. The leaves are about eighteen inches long near the trunk, and

diminish in length as they approach the extremity of the branch; they are narrow and pinnated, and are placed on two opposite sides of the branch. About six or eight years from the time of planting, the tree bears nuts. The stalk arises from the trunk where the branches grow and bears several nuts.

Of the ricinus or castor bush, which yields the well known castor oil, there are two kinds, the red and the white, distinguished by the color of their stalks, of which the former is of a reddish color, the latter green. The stalk is jointed and about five feet in height. The leaves are about eighteen or nineteen inches in circumference, and divided into eight or ten pointed parts. They are supported by foot stalks ten or twelve inches long, and grow in great numbers both upon the stalk and branches. It bears nuts of a triangular form, and covered with a thin brown fur; these nuts by expression, yield the castor oil.

The guava-tree grows to about twenty feet in height, and is covered by a smooth grey bark. The leaves are about three inches long and one broad, rough, pointed at the end, and of a dark green color. The flowers have five white petals. It bears a round fruit, which when ripe, is of a light yellow colour. The internal part of the fruit is filled with a red coloured pulp, with numerous hard seeds; this pulp is covered

by a substance somewhat like apple, and over all is the rind. The external substance is used for tarts and other sweet preparations, and the pulp is made into jelly.

The aviago pear tree grows to about thirty or forty feet in height. Its branches are long, its leaves large and pointed, and its flower has six petals. The fruit, when ripe, resembles a large pear. It consists of a soft, agreeable, nutricious pulp, covered by a rind, and containing a stone. The pulp is eaten with salt and pepper.

The female poppau generally grows to the height of fifteen feet. The trunk is about seven inches in diameter, covered by a light brown bark, hollow, and wholly without branches. The leaves are three or four feet in circumference, divided into seven or eight sections, which are again subdivided into other sections. The leaves are supported by foot stalks about two feet long, which grow from the top of the trunk. The flowers have five petals of a light yellow color, supported by pedicles which grow from the top of the trunk; they have an agreeable odor, and are used for preserves. The fruit is about six inches in length, of an oval form, and when ripe of a yellow color. The internal part of the fruit consists of a soft pulp, mixed with small seeds. This pulp is covered by a substance somewhat like that of a pompion, which is eaten when the fruit is nearly ripe, being previously boiled. There

is another tree, called the male poppau, which produces no fruit.

The American aloes tree grows to about twenty-five feet in height. The trunk is about nine inches in diameter, and covered by triangular pointed laminæ, which are green throughout the year, and diminish in size as they approach the top. The roots send out leaves, which surround the bottom of the tree with a bush. These leaves are about four feet in length, seven inches in breadth at the middle, which is the broadest part, and about half an inch in thickness. They are pointed at the end, covered by a smooth green skin, and internally consist of a white saponaceous substance. The branches commence about fifteen feet from the earth; they are short, and in considerable numbers. The flowers consist of six petals with a pointed summit, as many stamina with large anthers, and one pistil. These flowers grow in large clusters, one of which arises from each branch. This tree attains its full size in three months; it is very beautiful, and is usually planted in gardens.

The aloes plant consists of a slender conical stalk, about twenty inches in height, incircled at the bottom, near the earth, by several diverging leaves, and supporting, near the top, several pendulous yellow flowers. The leaves are about two feet in length, five inches in breadth in the middle, which

is the largest part, and six lines in thickness. They are set with short strong prickles on each side, running the whole length of the leaf, and are covered by a smooth green skin. This skin contains a soft bitter pulp, from which exudes a thick juice. The juice when indurated is the aloes. The process of induration is effected either by the sun, or by boiling; but the former is much more valuable.

The silk grass plant, or curretta, as it is called by the natives, is smaller than the American aloes, but similar in appearance. The flowers consist of six petals, six stamina, and one pistil. The leaves arise from the root, and form a large cluster. They are much like those of the American aloes, and are about three feet in length. Their internal substance consists of a saponaceous pulp, mixed with fine white strong threads. The threads, when separated from the pulp, are white and glossy, and very much resemble silk; and curious nets and strong ropes are made of them. The pulp is used for washing, instead of soap.

The siliqua hirsuta, or cow itch, is a plant like the vine, long, slender, and creeping. The leaves are thin, pointed, and covered with a down. The flowers grow in clusters, and are followed by a pod, somewhat similar to the common pea in shape and size, and containing several purple beans. The

pod is thickly covered by very fine stiff pointed hairs, which produce an intolerable itching upon being applied to the skin.

The Indian yam is peculiar to this part of America. The plant is long, slender, and like a vine; the leaves are large, and digitated; the root is about eight inches in length, and as thick as a man's wrist; it is of a reddish purple colour, and affords an agreeable farinaceous food.

Ginger is the root of a reed. It grows to the height of about sixteen inches. Its leaves are long, narrow, sharp, and rise in a spiral direction. The land near the coast is well adapted to the growth of ginger, which requires a soil frequently drenched in water.

Of the cassava shrub there are two kinds, the bitter and the sweet. The main stem is knotted, covered with an ash coloured bark, and grows to the height of four feet. The branches are thin, short, and green, and arise from near the top of the trunk. The leaves are large and digitated, and arise by red foot stalks, six inches long from the branches. The root is about a foot in length, and six inches in circumference, of a cylindrical form, and consists of a white farinaceous substance. To prepare it for food, it is ground into a meal, the meal is then squeezed to express the juice, and is

afterwards baked into cakes, which are good food, and will keep for several months. The juice is boiled with meat and seasoned, and makes excellent soup, which is termed Casserepo, and used in pepper-pot and sauces. The Indians and negroes are very fond of this sauce, highly seasoned with cayenne. Pepper-pot is a standing dish, and if replenished when near the bottom, will keep for any length of time; it is related of a Dutchman, who lived in Berbice, that he absolutely kept one for upwards of twenty years. The whole of this root, both the meal and the juice, before being exposed to fire, are fatal poisons, and cattle are frequently killed by drinking of the juice which has been left in their way by the carelessness of the slaves. This poisonous quality is possessed only by the bitter cassava.

The plant which bears the caruna poison, is a small tree, covered by a brown bark. Its leaves are small, oval, and of a light green colour. At the end of the branches grows a reddish coloured blossom, which falls off and is succeeded by small nuts, covered by a thick husk. The nut has a hard shell, and contains a farinaceous kernel. This kernel is a slow poison, which is said to be made use of by some tribes of Indians to destroy their enemies.

The nibbees are long creeping plants, without leaves or branches, of immense length, whilst their circumference is

seldom more than seventeen or eighteen inches, sometimes not above three or four. In the interior parts of the country they mount from the earth to the tops of the loftiest trees, then descend to insert themselves in the earth, and then again mount to the neighbouring tree, connecting the trees in this manner in various directions. Sometimes they coil themselves round the trees, and sometimes insert their tendrils into the bark, thus destroying them either by compression or starvation. The nibbees are made use of for fastening the thatch of houses, for which purpose they are split into small ligaments. The stalks are of different forms, some are round, others are angular, flat, or grooved.

Troolies are leaves of an enormous size. They are used to cover houses, which they protect from the most violent rains, and last for many years. This leaf is about twenty or thirty feet in length, and two or three in breadth; it is supported by a strong stalk about three inches in circumference at its commencement. About twelve of these leaves, each supported by its stalk, grow from the roots. In the center of these leaves a short stem shoots up, upon which is a cluster of light yellow flowers, these falling off are succeeded by large round nuts.

The plant, the root of which is the ipecacaunha, grows to about three feet in height. The leaves are large and smooth,

and sharp at the end. When the flower, which is yellow, falls off, it is succeeded by a long round pod. The pod contains white silky filaments, to which a number of small dark seeds adhere. Their roots are thin and woody, and have an emetic quality.

CHAPTER XIV.

CHANGE OF CONDITION IN THESE PROVINCES RESULTING FROM THE CONQUEST——CAPITULATION OF 1796——BURGHER REGULATIONS REVISED—NEW BARRACKS CONTRACTED FOR BY AN ENGLISH MERCANTILE HOUSE—ARRIVAL OF TROOPS—-RATIONS—-NEW RUM, PROPERLY CALLED KILL DEVIL—FACT RELATED OF AN ENGLISH SEAMAN-—BATAVIAN MEDICAL STAFF—FEVER IN THE DUTCH TROOPS—BAD TREATMENT OF THE PATIENTS—GREAT NUMBER OF DEATHS—MANNER OF INTERRING—DU MELLES RESIGNATION REFUSED-—ENGLISH GUINEAMEN ALLOWED TO SELL—-SMUGGLING—-REGULATION TO PREVENT IT—EVERY BOAT OBLIGED TO WEAR DUTCH COLORS—FATE OF A NEGRO CAPTAIN FOR REFUSING.

An account ought now to be given of the change of condition which these provinces have undergone, in consequence of their passing from the Dutch under the British protection. Those circumstances relative to the transfer of allegiance, which passed within the limits of my hearsay, or observation, are not many, and can have no claims to importance as histo-

rical anecdotes. But so many methods of subsistence have taken a new form and course, so many different sources of prosperity have gushed in upon the country, so many unexpected experiments in speculative industry were successfully tried during the anarchy, that a narration, however defective, will almost inevitably throw light on the regulations, which a wise policy ought to adopt, for promoting the future and permanent benefit of the district. I will begin therefore with the public papers which announced to government the surrender.

To the Right Hon. HENRY DUNDAS, *one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, from Lieut.-Gen. Sir* RALPH ABERCROMBY, K. B. *commander in chief of his Majesty's forces in the West Indies.*

Head Quarters, St. Lucia, May 2d, 1796.

SIR—In my letter of the 9th April, I expressed a desire to detach a body of troops to take possession of Demerary, provided that Admiral Sir John Laforey would allow me the necessary naval force.

The Admiral, upon my application to him for that purpose, immediately ordered the Malabar, La Pique, and Babet, on board of which and the Grenada transport, with some small

vessels, Major-Gen. Whyte, the 39th, 93d, and 99th regiments, embarked and sailed on the 15th ult.

On the 21st, this squadron arrived upon the coast of Demerary, and on the 22d, the governor and council were summoned to surrender the colony to his Britannic Majesty, upon the conditions which I have the honor herewith to enclose. The next day the terms were agreed to, the capitulation signed, and the British troops took possession of the colony. Lieut.-Col. Hislop, of the 39th regiment, is left commandant of Demerary and Essequebo. Major-Gen. Whyte was to proceed to take possession of the neighbouring colony of Berbice, and after making the necessary arrangements, he is ordered to repair to his station at St. Domingo.

From the accounts received, there is produce to an immense value at Demerary, which will be immediately shipped for Great Britain. I have the honour to be, &c.

R. ABERCROMBY.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &.

Stabroek, Demerary, 23d April, 1796.

SIR—In obedience to your Excellency's commands, I left Barbadoes on the 15th instant, with a detachment of the Artillery, and part of the 39th, 93d, and 99th regiments, amount-

ing to 1200 men, escorted by the Malabar, Undaunted, La Pique, and Babet frigates, with the Grenada transport, and five schooners and sloops; and on the 21st made the land, when the Scipio joined the fleet. That evening when the tide made, the Babet and La Pique frigates, with the Grenada transport, passed the bar with the schooners and boats of the fleet, and came to anchor within random gun-shot of the fort, at the entrance of the river; and having during the night prepared every thing for an attack, at day-light appeared in force, when I sent a flag of truce by Lieut.-Col. Hislop, of the 39th regiment, summoning the governor to surrender the colony and its dependencies to his Britannic Majesty's forces, agreeable to the terms I have the honor to enclose, and which the governor and council accepted.

The unanimity with which the service was carried on between the fleet and army was pleasing to all concerned, and Mr. Higgins acquitted himself with much propriety and utility. Captain Parr who commands the fleet, has assisted and supplied us from the fleet liberally. And I have the satisfaction to inform your excellency, that from every information I have received, and from above seventy ships being actually loaded with the produce of the country, now in the river (most of which will be sent to England) and from every account of the fertility and the soil, it is a most important acquisition to Great Britain.

The colony of Berbice, adjoining to this, being a separate government, I shall direct my attention to it without delay; and shall leave Lieut.-Col. Hislop in the command here, agreeable to your excellency's directions.

The Thetis, a Dutch frigate of 24 guns, and a cutter of 12 guns, are added to the fleet; and Captain Parr has given directions for destroying or bringing down the river, a French brig privateer of force

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

JOHN WHYTE, Major-General.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie, K. B. &c. &c.

By Major-General JOHN WHYTE, *commander of his Britannic Majesty's land forces, &c. &c. and Captain* THOMAS PARR, *commander of his Majesty's ships, &c. &c.*

These are requiring you, the governor and council, military and naval forces, of the colony of Demerary and its dependencies, to surrender the said colony to his Britannic Majesty's forces under our command, and to place the said colony under his Majesty's protection, and quietly and peaceably to submit to his Majesty's government.

In which case, the inhabitants shall enjoy full security to their persons, and the free exercise of their religion, with the

full and immediate enjoyment of all private property, whether on shore or afloat (excepting such as may appear to belong to the subjects of the French republic), according to their ancient laws and usages, or such other as may be determined upon, previous to the colony's being placed under his Majesty's government, upon the most liberal and beneficial terms.

That in the event of the colonies remaining under the British government at the conclusion of a general peace, they shall enjoy such commercial rights and privileges as are enjoyed by the British colonies in the West Indies. With regard to the military and naval forces, that the officers and men of the land forces shall, if agreeable to themselves, be received into the British pay, with leave, at the restoration of the Stadtholder, to return into his service. Each non-commissioned officer and soldier shall receive, upon his taking the oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, to serve him faithfully during the war, where it may be thought proper to employ him, the sum of one hundred guilders. The officers to receive, upon the same conditions, the allowance of two hundred day's bat, baggage, and forage money, as paid to the British officers.

The officers and men of the marine forces cannot be taken into the British service, until his Majesty's pleasure shall be

known, but shall receive pay according to their rank, and every indulgence that can be allowed.

That the governor and all civil officers, after having taken the oaths of allegiance to his Majesty, which will be administered by Major-General Whyte, are (if they choose) to remain in their respective situations (excepting those who have shewn a decided partiality to the French interest), the governor only resigning the military command. Should such liberal terms be refused, the governor, council, and all concerned, must be answerable for the consequences, as an immediate attack will be made by the land and sea forces, which will render every resistance vain.

Major-General Whyte and Captain Parr give the governor one hour, and no more, from the delivery of this by Lieut. Col. Hislop, to accept or not.

JOHN WHYTE, Major-General.
THOMAS PARR, Captain R. N.

Dated on board H. M. S. Babet, off the river Demerary, April 20, 1796.

GENTLEMEN—It is out of my power as yet to give a decisive answer to your summons, demanding a surrender of this colony to his Britannic majesty's forces, as my duty requires

me to lay it before the council, to whom it is also addressed, but which is not assembled at this moment. I will, however call the members present together, and return about twelve o'clock an answer. I have the honor to remain, &c.

Demerary, ANTHONY BEAUJON,
22d April, 1796. Governor of Demerary.

To their Excellencies General Whyte and Commodore Parr.

On board the Babet frigate, April 22d, 1796.

SIR—We have been honoured with your letter in answer to ours of yesterday's date, summoning the colony of Demerary to surrender to his Britannic Majesty's arms, requesting, for the reasons therein mentioned, to have until twelve o'clock this forenoon, to assemble the council to assist you in your determination. The reasonableness of this request induces us to grant it; but you will be aware that, if an answer is not returned at or before that time, no farther delay can be made, and you alone must be answerable for the consequences; and you will please also to observe, from the very liberal terms offered, no deviation whatever can be admitted.

We have the honor to be, &c.
JOHN WHYTE, Major-General
THOMAS PARR, Captain R. N.

To his Excellency the Governor of Demerary.

Fort William Frederic, Demerary 22d April, 1796.

GENTLEMEN—We, the governor, members of the council, and commanders of the naval forces of the colony, in council of war assembled, having attentively perused the summons, dated yesterday, and addressed to us by your Excellencies, demanding the surrender of the said colony to his Britannic Majesty's forces, also the terms thereunto annexed, have, after mature deliberation, resolved to accept said terms, and on them to surrender said colony and dependencies, as demanded, whereof we hereby give you notice; also that our colors will be struck on the landing of your forces. It will depend on the several officers and the troops to decide for themselves, as to the offers made them, and we have the honor to subscribe ourselves, &c.

ANTHONY BEAUJON, Governor
J. VAN WELL, Major
C. FITZJCHER, Commander
P. P. LUYKEN
THOMAS CUMING
A. MEERTENS

By order of the council,

M. S. TUINE, Sec. Ad. Int.

To their Excellencies General Whyte and Commodore Parr, commanders of his Britannic Majesty's forces off Demerary.

The officers and troops entered into our service. It is now no secret that General Whyte's expedition originated in the invitation of the inhabitants. A deputation had been sent to Barbadoes to represent the situation of the colonies to the British commanders. The first attempt to land was made a few miles to windward of the river. The boats unfortunately grounded about a quarter of a mile from the shore, without being able either to return to the shipping or get nearer the land, for the depth of mud was four or five feet; here they remained twelve hours, exposed to the rays of the tropical sun, and in case the inhabitants, or Dutch forces, had been averse to their measures, before they could have effected a landing or returned to the fleet, I would venture to say, the musquetry and grape shot from the shore would have made that perfectly unnecessary when the tide returned. Seeing the inefficacy of attempting a landing, when the flood rose, a signal was made for the boats to return, and the next morning Lieut.-Col. Hislop* was sent, in a flag of truce, to Stabroek, to summons Demerary and Essequebo, to surrender to the British, who would take possession of the colonies for and in the name of the Stadtholder; contracting parties were appointed, and the capitulation signed, which guaranteed all private property, except that which was floating, and a continuance of the Dutch laws, offices, and religion. His excellency Anthony

* Since Brigadier-General and Governor of Trinidad.

Beaujon, formerly secretary to the colony, a native of St. Eustatia, was appointed governor until his Majesty's pleasure should be known, and Lieut.-Col. Hislop, of the 39th regiment, commandant of the troops.

Berbice was surrendered in a similar way to the protection of the British forces, immediately after Demerary. But of this, enough has incidentally been said already in the ninth chapter.

A great number of speculators accompanied the expedition, some brought over merchandize and shipping to load for England, and others came to make purchases of landed property; indeed the readiness with which the speculators emigrated from the West India islands and Great Britain to invest their capital, made it more like a country resumed, than ceded, to England. From such a sudden ingress of monied men, the value of estates was greatly enhanced, and land which used to be valued at six pounds five shillings per acre, sold in 1796, at nine pounds three shillings sterling, in 1797, at eleven pounds, and in 1799 and 1800, at twelve pounds ten shillings, at which price it remained till the peace of Amiens, when the value of land visibly began to decline. All the uncultivated lots, between the Demerary and Berbice, were bought up with an avidity never before equalled, and several estates were made up along the Mahaica and Mahaicony creeks. Considerable

part of the Dutch property was immediately sold to the English adventurers, and the face of every thing began to wear the appearance of English. Their manners, customs, and language were adopted; indeed every thing was so visibly changed for the better, that it scarse looked like the same place; the river was now full of shipping; I have seen upwards of one hundred sail of British vessels loading at one time for the ports of Great Britain.

An English volunteer corps was formed of the inhabitants of Stabroek, commanded by a major; and a troop of cavalry was soon afterwards raised, which was commanded by the present governor.*

Lieut.-Col. Hislop was also the means of adding another regiment to the line, the 11th West India regiment, which he succeeded in doing by a levy on the planters. This idea they the more readily entered into, from being promised payment for those negroes they sent, which I am sorry to say they never received; but had the mortification to see their property taken away from the colony (when delivered to the Dutch in December, 1802, according to the peace of Amiens) without the smallest remuneration. The least, I think which *ought* to have been done, was, that as the negroes were contributed

* H. W. Bentinck, Esq. late governor of St. Vincent.

by the planters for the defence of their property in the colony, they should have been left attached to that service for which they were originally intended. Instead of this, on evacuating the colony, the colonel commandant took the regiment with him, as he would any other regiment of the line belonging to his Majesty.

Governor Meertens now became the representative of the sovereign power. The burgher regulations for arming the inhabitants for the internal defence of the colonies were nearly the first official discussions, which his excellency, after being installed, had in the court of police, where he sits as president; the former laws on that subject were all annulled, and those now produced were of a much stricter nature than the others, but on the whole, well arranged for a protection against revolts of the negroes. One article, however, occasioned great inconvenience to the inhabitants of Stabroek, and was productive of dangerous consequences to new comers, or unseasoned inhabitants.

When the health of the Batavian troops began to be so bad that one half of them were confined to the hospital and barracks, it was determined that they should never mount guard or do night duty in Stabroek, but that a company of the burgher militia, or inhabitants of Stabroek and the adjoining towns, should do it.

As they were mostly composed of British subjects, the governor, and honourable court of police, probably thought there was no harm in exposing them to the unhealthy night airs and dew, and that they had found an excellent substitute for their own troops. Under this idea, the inhabitants were obliged to do garrison duty at Stabroek, patrole the streets during the night, and were placed as centinels at all the public offices: besides this, they were paraded every day, for the first month or two, to be made perfect in the Dutch method of exercise and word of command.

After the first week of this nocturnal "burgher waght," several of the merchants were deprived of the assistance of their clerks, who, from not being accustomed to this irregular life, and some of them but just arrived from Europe, were confined to their beds by fever, occasioned by exposure to the night air, and perhaps by rather too free an access to the bottle, which the fatigue of duty required or occasioned. Many persons were brought to their sick beds, and those who recovered, while in a state of convalescence, were obliged to provide certificates from their doctors or surgeons, of their incapability to do duty. The fine for non-attendance on the guards, or parades, was a joe (thirty-six shillings). Such an event happening a second time, the offender was imprisoned for a period left to the discretion of the officers; if it occurred more than twice successively, he was to be banished from the

colony. These arbitrary measures could not fail of being disagreeable to the individuals who composed the militia. The conduct of the governor and of the court of police, ought to have been protested against by the inhabitants *en masse*, which would have made them personally answerable for the consequences which followed.

That no private pique for inconvenience personally suffered from Governor Meertens, may be thought to influence my pen, I wish it to be known, that during the time the Dutch had possession, after the restoration of the colonies to Holland in 1802, I was a resident in the country, removed five miles beyond the reach of the burgher regulations for the town, and therefore experienced none of those grievances of which I have complained. Having witnessed them; having visited my friends and acquaintances when confined by sickness thence occasioned; and having followed some of them to their graves, how can I refrain from animadverting on such unjustifiable proceedings?

Anthony Meertens is the son of an advocate of Amsterdam, and at the age of maturity made his debut as a lawyer of Demerary. Versed in every professional art, he owed his first advancement to several attorney and executorships, which gave him the management and direction of a number of estates. His affairs of this sort were not confined to Deme-

rary, but extended to Essequebo. The emoluments arising from these appointments are always considerable, the commission allowed by law being ten per cent on the gross produce of the estate; therefore, if a crop amounts to a hundred thousand weight of coffee, the attorney gets one thousand of it for his trouble. But this is not the only advantage arising to these offices. Mr. Meertens had an opportunity of purchasing an estate, very cheap, of the heirs of one of his constituents, who resided in Holland. The plantation Rome, situated on the same side of the river as Stabroek, and about three miles distant, is said to have been obtained for thirty thousand guilders, viz. two thousand five hundred pounds sterling. This estate he still possesses; it is valued at upwards of one hundred thousand. On his arrival in the colony, as governor, he erected a splendid government house there, which building was computed to cost ten thousand pounds. The frame was made and imported from Holland, and some busy people no doubt unfoundedly reported, that it was intended to have been erected in Stabroek, on public ground, as an official residence for the governor, and not upon any private property. Mr. Meertens next undertook the inside furnishing. A young lady, of Indian extraction, and but twice removed, had taken possession of his heart. After the usual form of courtship, contrary however to the established custom of the colony, he took unto himself a tawney wife. It is not the first time that money has reconciled such a procedure.

Mr. Meertens, in 1792, appeared in the municipal character of fiscal for the colony of Demerary. In this office he was very lenient towards the English smugglers from the West India islands, who, to the great benefit of the colony, used to take the produce into market, when the Dutch shipping in the river dared not leave it. Notwithstanding all the caution which was practised on the part of the Dutch naval force stationed in the river, considerable quantities of produce, especially cotton, went to be imported into Great Britain by this circuitous rout. The fiscal's apparent indifference to what was going on, never went unrewarded; and if he did not absolutely smuggle his own produce out, he used to sell it to those who did. He was a member of council, and signed the capitulation which surrendered the colony to Great Britain in 1796. In April 1799, he and his family embarked on board the Grenada, for London, where he remained until the preliminaries of peace were signed, when he went to Holland, in expectation of still furthering his advancement.

Mr. Meertens returned to the colony in 1802, as governor, with a Mr. La Maison, who was appointed vice-president of the courts, and who, after involving his official business in a labyrinth of confusion, and after receiving money and settling accounts for several merchants in England, who had rashly invested him with powers, took to drinking, and finally incurred the suspicion of insanity. His friends took advantage

of it, and insisted on his making a speedy, but not wholly honourable, retreat from the colony, leaving his constituents in the lurch, the principal of which were the assignees of a once respectable mercantile house in London.

The arbitrary manner in which this vice-president was allowed to act in his office, always excited disgust in every Briton, who considered the trial by jury as the bulwark of his liberties. As Englishmen, placed in a foreign country, we were divested of that blessing. Six members of council being chosen, and the president, or vice-president, (the former is the governor and merely an honorary member) decide on all causes. The vice-president is a professional man, and receives a salary from the colony; the other six are appointed by the keizers from the inhabitants of the country, and by pecuniary embarrassments, are often placed in the vice-president's power, who frequently has it at his option to admit a suit into court or not, and always to retard its progress, besides which, he has the casting vote. From these circumstances it may be clearly inferred, that the vice-president is the influencing man in the court, who has it in his power, from his situation and command over the other members, in a great degree to turn the scale of any trial, or cause. Such, I am sorry to say, was the state of the courts of justice, while under the Batavian government: and the terms of the capitulation have hitherto tended to resist

to resist the desirable degree of reform. The following occurrences will give some idea of them.

We were so scantily supplied by the twelve merchants of Holland with the requisite stores, plantation utensils, &c. that it was thought adviseable, previous to the war, to allow British manufactured goods to be imported from the islands to make up the deficiency, for which produce might be taken away in payment, upon paying a duty to the colony chest. The English schooner Fanny, of Barbadoes, took advantage of this liberty, and arrived in the Demerary, with a cargo consigned to her owner, who was a merchant residing in Stabroek. After the cargo was landed, the vessel was brought alongside a wharf, of which the consignee was in part proprietor, to be reloaded. A day or two after, when a proportion of the cargo was shipped, the master of a French schooner, belonging to Martinique, and then lying in the river, comes ashore with his crew, and orders the Fanny to sheer off from the wharf, as he wanted her birth for his vessel. This demand was resisted, when Monsieur and his people were preparing to put his orders into execution; but jack tar, not relishing such interference, prevented them, and a scuffle ensued, by which means the French seamen, came off second best, with a good drubbing. A complaint being immedi-

ately made to his Excellency, an order, with the officers of justice, came down to enforce the removal of the English schooner, for the French one to take her station. Further resistance was vain, but the merchant waited on the governor to remonstrate with him on the impropriety of such a procedure, as he was a proprietor of the wharf, and his vessel had an undoubted right of preference to load there. The Dutch governor assuming all his dignity, was astonished that any resistance had been made in the first instance, desired that he might not be troubled or intruded upon, and said that he would make every Englishman in the colony bend to his power.

A foreigner, of the name of Kholer, had a cause depending in the court to determine the validity of a claim he made to an estate in Demerary. The sentence of the court was given against him, which saddled him with some very heavy law expenses, beside depriving him of what he thought his right. He was incapacitated from making an appeal to their high Mightinesses, by several unfortunate circumstances, which quickly followed one another, and the heavy costs he had been at in sustaining this law suit. A man thus situated, without the means of prosecuting his claims, would certainly feel some degree of chagrin; especially as he was induced to believe it was occasioned by a private pique, which the vice-president had against him, before he arrived at that dignity. In a company where several of La Maison's par-

tisans, happened to be present, Kholer vented his spleen against him, and roundly asserted that he was actuated by partiality in the decision he made in his cause, and, that he was not so good nor so just a man as he ought to be. This of course soon found its way to the vice-president's ears, who immediately issued a writ for apprehending and confining him in jail, where he was kept a close prisoner for six months, without being brought to trial; and it was not until the British took possession of the colony in September, 1803, that by petitioning the lieutenant governor, he had an opportunity of appearing before his judge; for La Maison was obliged to be retained in office* until the arrival of his Excellency, Anthony Beaujon, who was sent out from England, and wisely placed a second time, as governor of the colonies. Poor Kholer had not yet felt all the power of the vice-president, for when before the bar, he beheld in the person of the judge, his prosecutor, through whose machinations he was deprived of the benefit of his counsel, who was not allowed to plead, though he had been the only one hardy enough to undertake the

* *Extract of article first of the capitulation.*—The constituted authorities, and public offices, whether in the civil law, or church establishment, as well as the members of the respective courts, except the governor general, shall be retained in their respective offices and situations, until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known.

Answer by the commanders of his Majesty's forces, granted.

cause in direct opposition to the man in place. The trial was soon concluded, and Kholer was sentenced to be twelve months imprisoned from that time, and to pay all expences, even the jail fees, and not to be released until the demands were liquidated, when he was to be banished the colony. At the time of my leaving Demerary, he was still imprisoned for the additional expenses incurred at his trial. The drossart's (sheriff) humanity was shocked at his case, and he asserted, in my presence, that if Kholer could by any means settle the law expences, the goal fees, which are very heavy in this country, he would willingly give up, to enable him to get his release.

The military were not much better than the civil regulations; both had that driftless character, which the anarchic state of the metropolitan province favoured. A line of military posts were established on the sea coast, and new barracks erected suitable for the reception of five thousand troops. At Mahaica fort, which is finely and beautifully situated at the mouth of the creek, commanding an extensive sea view, a barrack was built, capable of containing five hundred men, besides a handsome airy house for the officers, and a good hospital, with other outbuildings.

At Kingston, which is adjacent to Fort William Frederick, are several very spacious barracks and officers' houses, which

would quarter four thousand men with the greatest ease, and regard to health. These buildings and improvements were projected by the Dutch government, contracted for by an English mercantile house, the plan improved by the engineers under General Grinfield, and finally paid for by the colony. They are certainly a very great acquisition to the troops, and afford an opportunity in case of sickness, of removing them to different situations for change of air, which is very necessary, and so often proves salutary.

Some little time after the first arrival of troops, which amounted to fifteen hundred, a reinforcement of five hundred more arrived, equally in as bad a plight as the former, with regard to provisions and accommodation on board ship; the preparations and arrangements made for their reception were not in the least calculated to benefit their situation. A more ill-digested plan for the reception of two thousand men into a tropical climate, I suppose never was witnessed; if they had had no time for making the necessary arrangements, something might have been urged in apology; but as upwards of fourteen months had elapsed from the signing of the preliminaries of peace to their arrival in the colony to take possession, surely more might have been done to render their situation comfortable, and approaching to that of civilized human beings. Not to put a worse construction on the conduct of the Batavian government in this particular instance that it deserved, it

must be viewed as a wretched piece of parsimony to have sent the troops out as they did, destitute of every comfort and convenience, and I might almost say of the common necessaries of life. Their rations consisted of meal bread and hard biscuit made of the same material, a large quantity of which was imported from Holland. Salt beef and pork badly cured, from the same place, with peas, oatmeal, and calavancies, without the change of fresh meat, these articles absolutely and solely constituted the provisions served out to the Batavian troops in these colonies.

The pay of the troops was so small, as scarcely to allow them to purchase pipes and tobacco. A Dutch soldier would sooner be deprived of his dinner than his pipe. Without half the indulgences British troops have, were these poor miserable wretches left to their fate, not an allowance of spirits to render their water palatable, except *new* rum, which is not improperly termed "kill devil." An instance of this I had from undoubted authority.

A seaman, belonging to one of his Majesty's ships, stationed in the West Indies, died suddenly, turned quite black in several parts of his body, and was evidently in a putrescent state; the surgeon requested leave of the captain to open and examine him, which was accordingly done, when a *quart of new rum*, nearly as clear as when it first issued from the

still, was taken from him, which evidently caused his de cease. I am convinced, if our brave seamen were to profit by the knowlege of its deleterious qualities, that we should not experience half the number of deaths we at present do: I principally allude to the seamen in the merchants' service, who, as is well known, when on shore, are under little or no controul from the masters of ships. On a Sunday, their general point of rendezvous is at the grog shops, where, besides getting beastly intoxicated with this new rum, they supply themselves with a small keg to serve them during the week, in addition to the allowance they receive from their ships, which is always of a good quality, as the masters generally have an opportunity of laying in a sufficiency for the voyage, free of duty, before they leave England.

I have frequently heard unthinking people exclaim, "ah! the climate of the West Indies is the grave of our seamen:" I entertain a more charitable opinion of it. During the seven years of my being a resident of Demerary, I never knew of any contagious fevers prevailing among the inhabitants there; I do not even remember more than one instance of yellow fever, when the coffin was ordered for the patient, but he recovered. The small pox, I should hope, will be completely eradicated, by the active exertions of Messrs. Dunkin and Lloyd, who introduced and promoted the vaccine inoculation to the utmost of their power, by appointing regular days

for attending to it, free of expence; and by having negroes sent from the distant parts of the colonies, thus giving the medical men, who resided inland, an opportunity of extending it.

The medical staff attached to the Batavian troops was very numerous, but consisted principally of inexperienced young men, and boys of sixteen or seventeen, as mates, who, from all appearance, had been taken out of apothecaries shops in Holland, for the purpose of continuing that parsimony they had so ably commenced with. To these unskilled youths, and to their lack of knowledge, was the health of two thousand men confided. I can figure to myself the outcry which would have been raised against a British ministry, were any of their undertakings conducted on a similar basis.

My aim and intention is to relate facts without exaggeration, I will therefore take the liberty of returning again to the 2d of December, when the troops were drawn up to receive the governor. They were landed in the afternoon of the 1st, and on the 2d, when they were paraded with ostentation, they had not had one meal, or eaten a morsel since leaving the transports, which nearly completed a space of twenty-four hours. The first day's duty and exposure to the sun, without that sustenance which nature required for her support, with the other disadvantages the troops laboured under, may be deemed the

first step toward sickness, and indeed the foundation of all the dreadful calamities which followed. The disorder, which broke out among them, soon began to rage with fury; the number of sick encreased daily, in fact hourly, occasioned by their being allowed to remain in the barracks with the healthy men; their surgeons were panic struck; an epidemic fever ran through the soldiery like wild-fire; already were there a thousand of them confined. In this posture of affairs, the Batavian government should have issued out good and wholesome rations, wine and other nutritious restoratives, and exerted themselves to have encreased the comforts of their troops; but it was ordained otherwise, and though fifteen or twenty died every day, the number of patients still encreased. To behold as I have done, dozens of human carcases exposed for hours to the sun on the hospital wharf in Labourgade, and in open boats waiting for coffins, and afterwards to have seen them packed three in a coffin, would make any body shudder. The deaths soon after encreased to such a degree, that there was no possibility of being supplied either with coffins, or even with graves. The burial ground was already made impassable from the stench created by so many bodies being interred in so short a space of time, frequently not more than three feet under the earth, so that it was at last determined to roll them up in their blankets, and send them outside the river's mouth in punts, or flat bottomed boats, and there commit them to the deep. Colonel Du Melle, who

commanded the troops, being quite disgusted, tendered his resignation to the governor, which his excellency declined accepting.

The inhabitants continued very healthy, and unaffected with the contagion which had spread amongst the soldiers; the deaths, for the first two or three weeks, used to be announced in the colony gazette, but from motives of prudence were afterwards repressed. From good authority I know they exceeded five hundred within three months after their arrival, when the governor found the necessity of giving them a change of air. Accordingly they were dispatched to different parts of the colonies in small detachments, which probably saved the lives of many, but not of all; for on the colonies capitulating to the British in September, 1803, a deficiency of nearly three hundred of the troops was perceptible, which number must have died in the country. One hundred and eighty poor miserable objects were delivered over to the British, on their taking possession of the colony, and immediately placed under the care of an able English physician, Dr. Allanby. They almost all recovered, and were so much pleased with their rations, manner of treatment, and allowance, which was so different from what they had been accustomed to, that they one and all entered into the British service at Barbadoes.

The Batavian government covenanted that British Guineamen should be allowed to sell their cargoes in the colonies for three years, but not be permitted to take away any thing in return, except bills upon Holland. This regulation was certainly very hard; however, during the four months peace, which subsisted, after they were in possession of Demerary, several cargoes were sold, and the ships, obliged to leave the river in ballast, used to lay off and on the coast in the day, and would anchor at night to take in the produce which was brought off to them. By these means considerable quantities of cotton were thrown into the London and Liverpool markets, notwithstanding the means taken by the Dutch corvette Hippomenus, which sent out several tenders to intercept this smuggling trade. I was coming up from Essequebo one night, and before we perceived it, the weather being very dark, were alongside of an English Guineaman, who was then taking in cotton. We were immediately hailed and ordered to stand off; but continuing on our tack, and nearing the vessel more and more, we were saluted by a shower of musket balls, several of which passed through the sails and wounded the masts; fortunately no other injury was done. The negroes appeared perfectly composed, and proceeded to put the schooner about, merely saying "Them buchra sailor mad—no?" While we were in stays, another volley was fired, but more for the purpose of frightening than of injuring, as the

balls whistled over our heads without appearing to strike any part of the vessel or rigging. One of the first measures taken by the naval commandant on the station, was to insist on every colonial boat, of whatever nature, wearing a distinguishing vane. For registering the name of the vessel, and receiving written instructions, the captain of the Hippomenus extorted a joe, or thirty-six shillings, for each boat; therefore computing the number of boats at six hundred, he made upwards of one thousand pounds by this assessment on individuals. Moreover every colony craft, however small, even an open boat, was not allowed to pass and repass in and out of the river, without having a Dutch flag flying. Such was the nationality they were led to, that a poor negro captain one day, who after having passed the fort and anchored in the river, hauled his Dutch colors down, was taken on board the corvette, and severely punished for not keeping them flying until the sun set. I saw the poor fellow afterwards, and he told me that his schooner should not wear any colors in the river until the English took the colonies again; that he did not care for the Dutch captain, even if he flogged him every time he came in, he would have his own way; to use his own language "kie! massa Hendry, them Dutch color no good, me schooner no shall wear flag in the river, tae them English buchra come again, when me shall buy one English jack; me no mind suppose that Dutch officer flog me every time me schooner

come in; him no shall wear them color." To me it was highly gratifying to observe how Englishly disposed all the negro interest is: born for the most part in the West India islands, these black sailors grow up with a patriotic zeal for all who talk our language.

CHAPTER XV.

IMPROVEMENT AND STATE OF THE COLONY FROM 1783, TO THE PEACE OF AMIENS—LOTS OF LAND SOLD VERY CHEAP—DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE DUTCH AND ENGLISH PLANTER—PREVIOUS UNPLEASANT STATE OF THE COLONIES FROM INTERNAL CAUSES—A SERVILE WAR QUELLED BY A REGIMENT OF RANGERS—GRANTS TO THE OFFICERS ALONG THE POMAROON—INVASION THREATENED BY VICTOR HUGHES FROM CAYENNE—HISTORIC PARTICULARS OF THAT SETTLEMENT—FURTHER PARTICULARS OF THE PROGRESSIVE STATE OF THE INTERIOR.

THE preceding chapter left the Dutch in quiet possession of the colonies. The new regulations of the court of Holland, and the extension of power granted to the governor, were hailed as returning symptoms of affection and regard from the mother country, for want of which the infant had of late years been declining, but being received again under the protection and fostering care of its mother, it was expected to thrive tenfold.

Holland having withdrawn her attention from the eastern world, directed it to the improvement of her West India colonies. The ideas, which had been hitherto formed of them, were completely erroneous; and since the English had made estates there, the Dutch discovered that any part of the continent was fit for cultivation, and the soil every where adapted for profitable production.

The governor and council were now authorized to grant the whole of the land adjacent the sea, lying between Demerary and Berbice, commonly called the east sea coast, and comprising fifty miles in length, this track, as well as another, called the Arabische, or west coast of Essequebo, were surveyed and laid out into allotments of one quarter of a mile in breadth, facing the sea, and a mile in length extending into the interior, containing two hundred and fifty acres each, with a similar proportion reserved at the back of the first, to resort to when that should be cultivated.

The Mahaica, Mahaicony, and Abarry creeks, empty themselves into the sea between Demerary and Berbice; the two former are the principal, and were surveyed at the same time with the coasts; the land here is good and easy of cultivation. After penetrating through a few trees and underwood just on the edge of the banks, a fine clear open savannah

country presents itself, a most beautiful dank plain, with here and there a solitary tree, which has its effect in diversifying the scene; such an immediate change of country and appearance is as unexpected as pleasing to the beholder.

Soon after my arrival in the colony, I was highly gratified by an excursion into these savannahs, being on a visit at a cottage, as it is modestly called by the owner, in the Carrabanna district, about five miles from Mahaica. I was invited with my friendly host to breakfast, in the company of a large party, at Brome-hall, a neighbouring estate. We were fifteen or twenty in number, and every delicacy which the colony afforded, was provided by our hospitable entertainer; tea, coffee, and rich soups, fowls and mutton, noyau, sangaree, and wine. Breakfast being finished, we mounted our horses, attended by negroes on foot, for the purpose of exploring a path through the savannah to some part of the Mahaica creek; and from the direction we took, it was intended to be beyond the cultivated estates, and as near the head of the creek as we could reach. The day was remarkably mild; a fine clear open country; all the party in spirits; some bethought themselves of the pleasures of the chace, which they had enjoyed in England. The hunting cry was given, and re-echoed from one to another; two or three old hunters, as if by instinct, started at the well known sound, and were soon the headmost in the field. The wirrebocerra, a sort of deer, was our projected game. A

marshy track compelled our attention to a path, which to our surprise, appeared to have been lately used, but our attentive host was in the secret, for on our arrival at the creek, which stopped all progress, we found a party of negroes, who had been dispatched before, with a cold collation, with punch, malt liquor, and wines. After partaking these refreshments, we mounted our horses again, and proceeded to the cottage, where the party had engaged to dine. We reached this estate about four o'clock in the afternoon, after travelling upwards of twenty miles, quite tired and fatigued. An excellent dinner, aided by the sparkling charms of Madeira and claret, and the happy cordiality with which Mr. B. receives and entertains his friends, soon dispelled all weariness, and it was not till near morning that this joyous party separated.

Mahaicony is the principal place in the colony where the colonial craft are built; all the materials for which, except nails and iron work, are procured from the interior; they are generally from thirty to forty tons burthen, schooner rigged, with covered decks, they draw only five feet water, and are navigated by negroes. A principal part of the allotments were granted to Dutchmen, but the opinion which they had originally founded was not completely eradicated. Some attempts had been made by them to cultivate the sea coast, but these not succeeding as they expected, little more was done in it. Indeed they were soon glad to dispose of their grants, and on

such terms and prices as the British subjects, who were arriving daily, were glad to purchase at.

Many lots of land of two hundred and fifty acres were sold for one and two hundred pounds. One indeed was even exchanged for a negro, and another was absolutely given for a turkey, by which name the estate now goes, to commemorate the anecdote of its purchase. Similar lots to these on the east coast of Berbice have been sold by Mr. Blair, to whom large grants were made for four, five, and six thousand pounds in 1799, 1800, and 1801.

The national slowness of the Dutch was never so completely verified as in the resettlement of these colonies. They are planters of the old school, and nothing whatever can divert their attention from the traditional manner in which they settle their estates. The system which the English have introduced, insures as much cultivation in one year, as a Hollander would accomplish in four. The one dashes on and prepares a hundred acres to plant, while the other is content with twenty-five; his greatest ambition is to make his estate look like a garden, while that of the Englishman is to get the greatest quantity of cotton under cultivation possible, as it has been found by the experience of a series of years, that the quantity, and not the quality, constitutes the profit of the crop. The labor which is saved by the English planters, is almost incal-

culable. Instead of cutting down every tree, and removing all the underwood, according to the pernicious example which was set them, they fired all the wood, except that part intended for provision grounds, in direct contradiction to the advice of their friendly though mistaken neighbours, who assured them the land would be totally ruined by such a procedure. The event proved it otherwise, as from being too luxuriant before, it was found to be improved; the megass, or soil generated from putrid foliage, which is generally a foot thick, prevents the fire from penetrating too far so as to injure the land.

Messrs. B. and H. and Mynheer A. possess two estates on the west coast of Essequebo, four miles distant from each other, the former have only cultivated their estate five years, while the latter has been twenty-five years in cultivating his; and the difference in the value of the last crop did not exceed five hundred pounds sterling.

There is a wonderful dissimilarity between the Dutch and English colonists. They naturally both go out with a view of making money; but the one with an intention of ending his days abroad, and the other of returning to his native country, to live in ease and independence on the fruit of his industry. The first thing a Dutchman does, after he is in possession of an estate, is to build a splendid house; the next thing is to employ

his negroes in making a handsome garden; he then gets a pleasure boat, and four or five negroes are immediately put in training for sailors; and lastly, his ambition must be gratified by a curricle and pair of horses. The only thing they agree in is good living. The pleasures of the table they both are determined to enjoy; the one in a large splendid house, and the other in a cottage.

Many English merchants, about 1790, formed establishments, and settled in Demerary; and considerable quantities of British manufactured goods were obtained from the West India islands; but the importation of negroes, or exportation of produce in British shipping, was prohibited as interfering with the Dutch navigation laws. Nevertheless, a barter trade to a considerable amount was carried on privately, and even passed over in silence by the officers of justice. There being no custom-house in the Dutch colonies, that superintendance devolves on the fiscal and receiver.

The republican war of 1793 threw the inhabitants into great distress; their intercourse with the mother country was retarded, and no business was carrying on, save with America, and the contraband trade with the English. Their military force was reduced to little more than two hundred men; discontent occupied every breast, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the few remaining troops could be kept in subjection.

Such was their deplorable situation in 1794, when very alarming symptoms appeared among the bush negroes, who had been a considerable time in collecting, and were now at this period arrived at such a pitch of temerity, that it was necessary they should be checked.

The Dutch troops, with a few negroes, were accordingly detached to the west coast of Demerary, where they entered the bush; but after beating about several days, and having many skirmishes with the insurgents, in which they were defeated, from being worn out with fatigue, they were obliged to return to the sea coast again, in time to behold the remains of their barracks perishing by the flames, which had been communicated to them by a party of the maroon negroes sent out for provisions. They murdered the manager and a mulatto girl, burnt all the buildings they could approach, one of which had been appropriated for the troops, and stole every thing which was at all valuable, or that could be conveyed away. Such daring outrages as these had the appearance of leading to dangerous consequences, to ward off which the governor and council thought it adviseable to call on the inhabitants for their assistance, for which purpose, many of them volunteered for the service, and a company of rangers was raised, consisting of negroes, which were contributed by the different estates, and placed under the command of Major M. Grath, under whom were Captains Dougan, Johnson, &c. with others in

subordinate situations. The armed burghers, or inhabitants, joined the rangers with a number of bucks, or Indians. These people are remarkably averse to the negroes, and have generally stood foremost in case of any disturbance, to quell the blacks, and protect the Europeans; indeed they have always here, as in Berbice, evinced a strong desire to maintain and aid the white inhabitants in the sovereignty of the country.

The combined forces took the field in 1795, formed into two divisions, one of which entered the bush on the west coast, and the other fifteen miles up the river, by Ababbour creek, with an intention of taking a complete circuit, and forming a junction. They were provided with several trusty negro guides, one of whom I very well knew, of the name of Gentleman: he belonged to an estate up the river, and had been purchased among other negroes out of an African cargo, at Grenada, and brought thence, by his masters, to settle on a sugar estate they possessed. This negro, from his uniform good conduct, soon gained the esteem and confidence of his owners, and from his sincere attachment to them, was looked upon as a favourite, which, however, was shewn in no other way than by trifling presents at a chance time. His house, his way of living, and indeed his employment, seldom differed from that of others, except when any commission required a confidential servant, then Gentleman was generally fixed on. He possesses good plain sense, considering the way

in which he was bred among the savages of Africa. He was active and sharp sighted, had a clear head, made himself acquainted with the principal passes and paths to the revolted negroes encampments, which he acquired by dint of perseverance and industry, at the risk of his life, by making excursions into the wood at night, by which means he discovered their places of retirement: he used especially to watch their carrying plantains, which they had stolen from the neighbouring plantain walks; he was once or twice near being caught, in which event they would have had no hesitation in killing him as a spy. He has always proved himself a faithful and honest negro, and except one failing, that of being rather too fond of rum, is free from vice. Few negroes possess ideas of honor and integrity in a greater degree than he does. With all these good qualities, Gentleman could not fail of being eminently serviceable to the division to which he was attached. I have frequently questioned him as to the nature of his own country, of which, he speaks with the utmost dislike and contempt. "Buckra (white men's) country more good; here so, me only one massa, in a dat country for me, every man my massa, suppose he more strong than meself. They catchee me and make me work for them king; suppose me no want for work them sall kill me: sometime them king make war and one noder somebody get me for work; them no give me victuals, them no give me rum, them no give me blanket, them no good like a buckra massa, them flog and them kill them slaves

like a hell; suppose one king kickkaraboo (die), they kill all the slaves too." From this artless and unadorned tale, may be collected a great deal to prove the wretched situation of the negroes in their own country, and with what arbitrary sway and despotism the petty kings, or rather barons, in Africa govern their vassals and slaves.

But to return to the bush expedition, which, after considerable fatigue, succeeded in surrounding an encampment, or negro village, in the night, consisting of seven huts. Many of the inhabitants were absent; however, a number of them were taken, and those who resisted were shot and slain in the confusion of the moment. The Indians acted with great inveteracy against the insurgents. A reward of ten pounds sterling being offered by the court for each right hand that was brought in belonging to a bush negro, they made no hesitation in disencumbering those killed, of these members. The gardens and provision grounds in the back country, which had been vigorously defended, were of considerable use to the pursuing party; for the revolters had rooted up and laid waste every thing, burning every building, and desolating every plantation.

The prisoners were sent in under an escort of rangers, who seeing every thing consumed and rendered useless, commenced their march again in search of the hostile encampment. They

kept the field for several weeks with little or no intermission, until the health of the Europeans employed in the undertaking, obliged them to retreat, without even being able to discover the main hiding place of the adversary. They repelled the gipsey foe into inaccessible districts. The promptitude and active manner in which the planters undertook this business, deserves the warmest praise, as they evidently prevented the insurrection from being extended, and brought to an open rebellion, in which case, all the disaffected in the colony would have joined, and from the weak state of the military force, would soon have had the colony in their own power. The governor and court of police were aware of the services rendered, and in their vote of thanks, which was sent both in the Dutch and English languages, informed the principal officers of the expedition, that they would immediately take into consideration the best means to be adopted for granting them each a lot of land on the Pomaroon coast, in consideration of their services. Those in subordinate offices were remunerated for their loss of time, and handsome presents were made to all. The Indians and negroes were not forgotten: many of them had silver medals given them for encouragement, with each particular service engraved thereon. The Indian chieftains were presented with large handsome sticks, with silver heads, as mementos of their services, and of their attachment to the Europeans. These encouragements were calculated to do considerable service, and to excite emu-

lation and good conduct in others; they will be handed down to posterity as marks of distinction and approbation.

This business being so happily got over, the planters and merchants turned their attention to their own particular situation. Belonging to a country which could neither protect them, nor their trade, whose European government and inhabitants were divided by factions, which have finally made them a dray horse to a Corsican usurper. Something was necessary to be done to enable them to open their ports, and ship from the colony the produce which had been accumulating for several years. A little trade with North America, and a heavy barter trade for negroes and produce with the English, were the only vents they had for any of their productions, and these, at the utmost, did not dispose of more than one-third of the annual crop. The English contraband trade, from a small beginning, increased so much, that the government was obliged to take notice of it, and a Dutch sloop of war, which was lying in the river, constantly kept out boats of observation, to prevent a continuance of the trade. The English vessels used to anchor off the coast as regularly as in a harbour, and kept always prepared a warm reception for these Dutch cruizers, in case they should come athwart them with hostile views. On the appearance of any vessels on the coast, these immediately returned into the river, and by feeing persons supposed to be in good understanding with the fiscal, every

thing was rendered eventually easy for the English planters and merchants to slip out with their schooners, though most of the produce exported this way, went from the east sea coast, by which means it avoided passing the fort at the mouth of the river.

Destitute of almost every article of European manufacture and convenience, the military force reduced so very low as two hundred men, and these so nearly in a state of mutiny, as to make it synonymous to being without any; the colonies began to be conscious in this situation that they should fall an easy prey to any adventurous plunderer. Victor Hugues' arrival at Cayenne began to be noised abroad, his repeated proclamations of liberty and equality, which breathed vengeance on all the possessions not immediately in possession of the French, called on a rabble of idle and disaffected negroes and mulattoes to join, to whom he promised freedom, and held out a glittering prospect of glory. He succeeded in deluding six thousand misguided objects to join him, whom he armed, and disciplined, with an intention of taking possession of Dutch Guyana, and finally of revolutionizing all the British possessions in the West Indies. The dread of being consigned to the mercy of such a band of lawless miscreants as composed Victor Hugues' army, determined the inhabitants to apply for advice and protection to the island of Barbadoes, where some considerable proprietors resided who had also estates in

Guyana. A short account of the French establishment at Cayenne, must convince every one how much wiser it was to court the superintendence of a British, than of a French authority.

The province of Cayenne is situated in about 53 degrees W. longitude, and 5 N. latitude, its principal settlement and seat of government is near the coast on a small island of the same name. It is bounded on the west by Surinam, on the north and east by the Atlantic ocean, and to the southward by the Portuguese territories, whence it is separated by the course of the Oyapoco as far as its boundaries have been defined; the extent is computed to be three hundred and fifty British miles in length, by two hundred and forty in breadth.

The French undertook, in 1635, the colonization of Cayenne. Merchants of Rouen were the chief patrons of the scheme; Ponceau de Bretigny, the official governor of the settlers. The contempt for justice, which every where distinguishes the French, was here fatal to their interests. The native Indians, expelled from their lands without even an attempt at consent or purchase, robbed of their huts for the accommodation of strangers, deprived of the society and labor of their women by the seductions or violence of the whites, and often compelled to toil for their oppressors, conspired

against the intruders, murdered the governor, and greatly harrassed and thinned the settlers.

On receiving this intelligence in France, a new company was proposed, and a reinforcement of a thousand colonists. Other merchants were to share in the enterprize. The former adventurers had erred by their violence; these were to carry out every christian virtue. The multitude indeed could only be recruited from among persons of broken fortunes and character; but these it was presumed would copy from their chiefs. The abbé Marivault, a most pious, virtuous, and respectable ecclesiastic, was to be the governor, or rather high-priest, of this new Jerusalem; the general Roiville was intended for a subordinate character. In the act of embarking, at Havre, the abbé Marivault's foot was said to have slipped; he fell into the sea, and was drowned. Roiville was assassinated during the passage. Those who arrived at Cayenne, displayed there, the same insubordination and atrocity which had broke loose on ship-board. They quarrelled with each other, with the former settlers, and with the natives; many died of wounds, more of the climate. The garrison deserted to the Dutch. The remnant of settlers, who clung longest to their properties, were obliged to fly from the hostility of the Indians, and escaped to one of the leeward islands in a boat and two canoes. Thus failed the second attempt to settle

Cayenne, and all the hopes of that company who had been at so much expence and trouble to colonize it.

An expedition was soon after fitted out from Surinam, under the command of Spranger to take possession of the settlements thus evacuated by the French; scarsely any adherent population was detected; few materials that were worth removing, or structures worth occupying afresh. It was, in fact, a visit of inspection, which terminated in systematic abandonment, but which serves to prove that Cayenne is a natural appurtenance of Paramaribo.

In 1663, another West India company was established in France, under the directorship of La Barre. Their capital did not exceed ten thousand pounds sterling; but the great assistance they derived from the French government enabled them to regain the possession of the lands, and imbankments, which the former company had evacuated. Cayenne came again into the hands of the mother country; but not for a long continuance. The English took it in 1667, and it was afterwards taken by the Dutch in 1676. The colony being restored to the French at a peace, great hopes were now entertained of its enjoying tranquillity, and realizing those hopes of gain, which had so long dazzled the eyes of the adventurers; but in this respect they were again mistaken.

Du Casse, who was a good seaman, arrived with some ships from France, in 1688, at Cayenne, and by various means instigated a party of pirates, who had settled there two years before with a large valuable booty, which they had taken in the south seas, and who were now employed in cultivating the land, to join him in plundering Surinam. Many of the other colonists, induced by the designing arts of this adventurer, joined him, but the expedition proved unfortunate—some of the besiegers fell in the attack, the rest were taken prisoners, and sent to the French Carribbee islands, where they settled. The colony has never recovered this loss; far from extending into Guyana, it has only languished at Cayenne.

The island of Cayanno, or Cayenne, is separated from the continent only by two arms of a river of the same name, and is about eighteen miles long and eight or ten broad; its situation makes it a most unfit place for a settlement, and it would have fared much better with the colonists had they commenced on the main. The land adjacent the sea, is hilly and mountainous, and that in the center low and swampy, continually subject to inundations, to prevent which, no other plan can be adopted but that which has been followed in the neighbouring colonies, of digging dykes and draining into the sea. It is much doubted whether the soil is good enough to repay the expending of so much labor. This island is well

fortified, the entrance into the harbour is very narrow, and no ship of any burthen can work in until high water.

The aboriginal natives in the immediate neighbourhood of the sea coast, cannot exceed eight thousand, who, by the assistance of several missionaries sent among them, were induced to think better of the French then they deserved, from their repeated acts of oppression.

The first production of Cayenne was arnotto, a red dye, called by the Spaniards, *achote*, and by the Indians, *achiotl*. The tree that yields this is from eighteen to twenty-four feet high, has large dark green leaves, a red bark, and is very bushy; it produces pods twice a year, nearly as large as a chesnut, which contain a pale red fruit or seed, about the size of a pea, which is made into cakes of arnotto, by undergoing fermentation and boiling; the scum taken from the liquor constitutes the dye. Cotton, indigo, and sugar, were next introduced, and in 1721, coffee was brought from Surinam. Twelve years after, they planted cocoa. In 1753, the population and production stood thus: 500 whites, who employed 1500 negroes, and 1200 native Indians, and produced about 260,000 lbs. of arnotto, 80,000 lbs. of sugar, 18,000 lbs. of cotton, 27,000 lbs. of coffee, 92,000 lbs. of cocoa, and this was still nearly the situation of the colony in 1763. The cul-

tivation of indigo, which at one time was carried on successfully, has greatly fallen off. The plant which yields indigo grows up in about six months; when cut, it is placed in layers within a tub of water, and pressed down by weights. The water soon begins to ferment, then becomes opaque and green, and lastly acquires a putrid smell. After a certain length of fermentation, the leaves grow white; the green liquid is then poured off and agitated until blue streaks appear; after this, fresh water is added, and a blue precipitate is formed, which, being drained in linen bags and dried in the sun-shine, forms the dying drug called indigo. Maize, cassia, varrilla, have succeeded, but not conspicuously at Cayenne; with the cassia, however, a very transparent colourless *liqueur* is prepared from rum, which is in great request on the tables of the luxurious at Paramaribo and throughout these colonies. The Cayenne pepper, as it is called, is the fruit of the capsicum baccatum, gathered when ripe, dried in the sun, then pounded and mixed with salt. It is sometimes baked with a small addition of flour; and the biscuit rasped into powder, is sent to Europe. Several kinds of grapes have been lately introduced, and a wine is made there said to be peculiarly medicinal in fevers. The French have succeeded better than other Europeans in obtaining labourers from among the bucks, or native Americans, and are supposed to import them from near the river of Amazons, toward which an annual caravan marches, and

holds along its route a circuit of fairs. The Portuguese have repeatedly attacked and massacred these caravans, for encroaching on their territory.

The extent of coast of this country is nearly three hundred British miles, bounded by the Oyapoco on one side, and the Surinam on the other; the navigation coastways is very dangerous, to strangers especially, as their course is frequently retarded by banks of sand and mud flats of considerable extent, which frequently shift. There is no harbour of any consequence except that which the island affords, and from an unpardonable neglect in the colonists, scarcely a place on the sea coast where a boat can land with safety; nay not approach it in spring tides, when the rollers and breakers are so heavy. From there being little or no cultivation here, the land is continually inundated. The smallest vessels cannot come within three or four miles in particular parts of the shore, without running imminent danger of being upset, or entangled with the forests of mangroves, and other trees, which rise up out of the very sea. By a proper method of cultivation, all this might have been rescued from inundation, and have secured to the mother country an inexhaustible track of country. A vast capital, however, would have been requisite, and must have been permanently fixed there by the planters: the system of French commerce does not facilitate such advances to the dependent industry. Bordeaux cannot supply to the concate

nated sea-ports of the colonies, the grand staple of exertion and thrift. A demand for produce instantaneous and uninterrupted, and long credits, to any extent which can be usuriously paid for, are essential in all new countries.

Soon after the peace of 1763, the court of Versailles, influenced by the Duke of Choiseul, made vigorous efforts to give importance to Cayenne. Twelve thousand men, engaged in France as labourers, were landed, some in the isle du Salset, and some on the banks of the Kourou; but alas no habitation or proper provision had been made for them. To add to their calamities, they arrived at the commencement of a rainy season. Situated thus, without fit food and shelter, without employ from the heaviness of the rains, weary of existence from their deplorable situation, they abandoned themselves to shocking irregularities, which brought on contagious distempers, and soon terminated their wretched fate. Fifteen hundred men, who had escaped the mortality of disease, were washed away by the floods which assailed their ill-chosen settlement. Two thousand demanded to return to Europe and were unwillingly brought back. About a million sterling was uselessly expended on the enterprize.

During the American war, the victory achieved by Admiral Rodney, in April 1780, offered to our ministry a favourable opportunity for ordering Cayenne and Paramaribo

to be occupied by British forces. No steps of the kind were taken. Ignorance of the importance, which under our patronage these most valuable districts of South America were likely to acquire, was, perhaps, in part the cause of the neglect. But the statesmen of that day, if statesmen they can be called, appear to have laboured under a worse, because more incurable, disease than ignorance, under prejudice. They both professed and fostered a culpable indifference to acquisition and empire, and voluntarily shook the cohesion of provinces, which they regarded as too extensive for a single seat of government. In order to bestow liberty on North America, it was not necessary to encourage independence; and thus to withdraw half the naval population of English sailors from the obligation to defend the mother country.

From the peace of 1783 to the French revolution, the government of Versailles was meritoriously attentive to the improvement of Cayenne. Botanic gardens were founded there, and the plants of the East Indies were brought at a considerable expense, and cultivated in a sort of nursery for distribution among the planters; cinnamon trees have thus been propagated to some extent; the bamboo would have been yet more valuable. These scientific establishments have not been perseveringly patronized; but they have been instrumental to the introduction of novel articles of cultivation into San Domingo; and, through the fugitive planters from that scene of

insurrection and desolation, these new productions are likely to be naturalized in Jamaica.

Those French planters who are born in the West Indies, assimilate easily with the English planters. The patriotism of the soil is stronger than any hereditary or traditional allegiance. The manners of the climate, the notions of feudality, are common to both, and jar with the European catechism. In Dominique, Martinique, and other islands, which have been ceded to Great Britain, the creole French are good subjects, and form a faithful attachment for that metropolis which purchases their commodities and supplies their wants. But those French, who are natives of Europe, do not acquire this common feeling with the British planters; they are neither welcome nor safe colonists. In Cayenne and in San Domingo, many of these took part with the agitators, and sympathized with the proclamations of Victor Hugues. The mischief done in San Domingo is notorious. At Cayenne, the people of color did not make common cause with the emissaries of jacobinism; the slaves could not read the eloquence of Brissot; and when it came to the lot of the original incendiaries to be transported to these districts, which they had endeavoured to inoculate with the fever of rebellion, they found no employment adapted for their talents, and less hospitality than a wiser philanthropy would have secured. Some of them, however, have learned to cultivate land with the help of slaves, and may

perhaps live to unteach the prejudices and errors, which they put into such destructive activity.

It is of no small importance for Great Britain to remember, that to the fear of these dangerous opinions and of a servile war, was owing the first intimation of a disposition among the inhabitants of Essequebo and the adjoining districts, to throw themselves under British protection. These colonies were *conquered*, as the acts of parliament phrase it, under the implied engagement to maintain subordination in opposition to anarchy; and I should much fear from the Dutch proprietors, the avowal of a disposition to resume their ancient allegiance, if Bonaparte and his dependent kings become the patrons of vassalage, and Great Britain, of emancipation. The condition of the negroes is here the question which men have most at heart.

It was soon after the capture of Saint Lucia by the British, that a flag of truce arrived from Barbadoes with an Essequebo proprietor on board, who had very frequent conferences with the governor, the time he remained, which was only two days, and who was said to be the bearer of some communication, or terms, from the commanders in chief of the British forces. Thus far is certain, that, unless he came over in an official capacity, he could not have obtained passports, as a flag of truce, merely for his private concerns; and the universal silence maintained as to the object of his mission, no less than the event

of it, justifies the general opinion. A guard was kept on board the vessel during her stay, and after her departure, reports began to circulate, which gained credit, as neutral vessels arrived from the West India islands, stating that an expedition was fitting out at Barbadoes, intended for the reduction of these colonies. The governor no doubt was acquainted with its destination; however, to keep up appearances, he made no relaxation in providing means for defence, his family and furniture were removed from town to the Rome estate, no doubt to preserve the one from the dangers and hardships of the seat of war, and the other from the destruction which would necessarily accrue to a town being stormed by the British ships of war; all these reflections were properly considered and weighed in the mind of his Excellency, and were acted on with a visible degree of spirit, to impress on the minds of those under his government, opinions which he did not perhaps thoroughly entertain. Several of the Dutch inhabitants of Stabroek, actuated by the example set them by Mr. Meertens, also removed their books, papers, and articles of value, to places of greater safety.

A short time had elapsed since the departure of the flag of truce, when the river was blockaded by an English sloop of war, the Netley. A gentleman was landed from her on the east coast, who made arrangements with the planters for sending out their colony schooners to be captured for the time

being: they were to remain under her orders, until the expedition, which had sailed from Barbadoes, should arrive, as they would be found essentially necessary for landing the forces, in case any opposition on the part of the Dutch rendered such a procedure necessary.

A great parade of determined resistance was now made, so much so, that the English inhabitants felt themselves awkwardly situated, and began to fear, there was more in it than they were aware of; as the force the Dutch had, if properly arranged and commanded, could make it a matter of considerable doubt, whether the English force would be successful, owing to the bulwarks of defence which nature had provided, in the shallowness of the coasts, and the little effectual aid the colonists themselves could give, (though three fourths of them had been originally British subjects) on account of the oath of allegiance they had been obliged to take to the Batavian government.

These fears and doubts were soon expelled, for on the 18th of September, a flag of truce came into the river from the fleet, which was still out of sight, with a summons to the governor and council to surrender the colonies; a council of war was again called, and a deputation sent off with full powers to capitulate.

The beneficial effects of British conquest, which immediately converts into a fair the place taken under protection, and enriches the inhabitants as rapidly as French conquest impoverishes, were soon apparent to all. The British capital now invested in the colonies made them of serious importance, and a grand object with the mercantile and monied interest of Great Britain to retain; the mere claims on them being estimated, at the time of the peace of Amiens, at ten millions sterling, for advances made by the merchants of London, Liverpool, Bristol, and Glasgow, since 1796. Several respectable men were ruined, and others severely felt the versatility of government in ceding, by that disastrous treaty, so much British capital to its natural enemy, for although the Batavian republic lent its name, the colonies were given up to enrich the French, under whose influence and principles they were governed. The British government taking colonies in time of war, is always an encouragement for the English inhabitants to extend their cultivation, and invest their capital in the purchase of estates already made, as was evidently the case during the anti-jacobin war; they, as well as the monied men in England, supposed the colonies would be retained at a peace. Under this idea seven eighths of the cultivated estates belonging to Dutchmen and other foreigners, were purchased by spirited English adventurers, who, from motives of prudence, preferred settling in these extensive and flourishing continental

provinces to investing their capital in the West India islands, which are declining in fertility, and scarsely produce interest for the capital employed. These colonies were originally settled by British industry and capital, and may date their second birth and fresh invigoration from their resumption by a British authority.

These colonies, where upwards of fifteen millions of British capital are employed, produce more than all the West India islands jointly, Jamaica excepted. These colonies, which consume so many British manufactured goods, employ such a proportion of shipping and seamen in their navigation, that they might have been looked up to as a never-failing resource against the declining state of our own islands. Besides raising taxes for the support of civil government, and paying certain dues and fees, stiled sovereign's money, they have produced a revenue to the crown of Great Britain of two millions annually, yet they were unthinkingly given back at the peace of Amiens. If such a pernicious system as this continues to be followed, Bonaparte will soon gain one of his most ardent wishes—"Colonies, commerce, and ships." The first he will acquire ready made on a valuable and extensive scale by British gold, industry, and perseverance, and the others will follow of course. Enthusiastic ideas of liberty and equality, and mistaken notions of humanity, by striving at emancipating the negroes, severed from France one of the props of that re

public; St. Domingo is alluded to, the devastation and ruin of which is severely felt to this day, especially by the merchants of Bourdeaux. That dreadful example of blood-shed and slaughter, by a too sudden precipitation of the negroes into freedom, is equalled but by similar occurrences which took place in France at the same period; surely it ought to make the avowed friends to the emancipation of our colonial cultivators tremble at the idea of the misery which they have been tending to bring on our West India possessions.

CHAPTER XVI.

PLANTERS—THEIR MODE OF OBTAINING ADVANCES—THE DISCREDIT INFLICTED BY THE PEACE OF AMIENS—GALLICANISM OF THE RESTORED DUTCH AUTHORITIES—ENGLISH VESSELS ASSUME DUTCH COLORS—NEW RUMOURS OF A WAR IN EUROPE—FRESH DISTRESS AMONG THE PLANTERS AND MERCHANTS—DAMAGES ON RETURNED BILLS—MISCHIEF OF A FLUCTUATING SOVEREIGNTY—ORDERLY CHARACTER OF THE NEGROES—PATIENCE OF THE BLACKS DURING FAMINE—INHUMANITY PUNISHED—REGULATIONS TO PREVENT FUTURE SCARSITY—SMALL INFLUENCE OF THE SETTLEMENTS ON THE SURINAM OVER THOSE ON THE DEMERARY AND ESSEQUEBO—BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE RISE OF PARAMARIBO—A MORE INTIMATE COMMUNICATION DESIRABLE.

THE planters are usually persons who possess a capital from two to twenty thousand pounds. With less than the former sum they cannot easily commence their career; nor do they care to forsake it with less than the latter. They are generally enabled to procure credit with their merchant in

England for a sum proportionate to the value of their estate, by way of mortgage. This they draw for, as their necessities require, in bills at long dates. The Demerary planters at this time were held in high estimation and credit, from having had large crops and good prices for their produce. Speculation was run throughout the colony. Very large engagements were entered into by the planters, and the general method of drawing on their correspondents was resorted to, to fulfil them. These drafts were drawn previously to the account of peace arriving, but the fate of the colonies being too well known in England, they met with dishonour, and bills before noted for non acceptance at long sights were finally protested for non payment. Drafts to the amount of five hundred thousand pounds were returned in this state to the planters for re-payment, with an addition of twenty-five per cent. being the damages allowed by the Dutch laws on dishonoured drafts.

Such a procedure created a demand on the planters of six hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds, which they had every reason to think would have been discharged in England; they had also, relying on these engagements being fulfilled, entered into others equally extensive. The merchants and manufacturers of England severely felt the loss of their remittances; the utmost confusion prevailed amongst the planters; and the only expedient which could be hit on to

disembarrass them, was to form connections with the agents of houses from Holland, who had now arrived in Demerary for that purpose.

On the 3d December, 1802, the colonies were taken possession of by the Batavian troops, and citizen Anthony Meertens, a man of avowed French principles, and ostentatious in his dislike to the British, was sworn into the office of governor in the presence of the military force, which consisted of two thousand men, under the command of Colonel De Melle; they were as fine a body of men as any person would wish to see, but upwards of seven hundred of them, within the short space of nine months, fell victims to the climate and other connected causes.

The intercourse with Holland being now completely established, all the shipments were made to that country, and a number of the English vessels revisited the colony under Dutch colors, established and possessed by British merchants, who had been induced to go and settle in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, from the claims they had on these colonies. Every thing thus appearing in its regular train, and the mercantile connections being re-established with Holland, the dishonoured drafts were renewed by others on that country, and one good crop was expected to bring the planters round to their former respectability. But it was decreed otherwise; for in May,

1803, English newspapers were brought to the colony describing the situation of affairs in Europe; in June, an embargo took place on all the shipping, except the American vessels, who were now admitted by virtue of the governor's proclamation to a free trade. Two British vessels were detained, and the cargoes of those under Dutch colors were ordered to be landed. From the non arrival of vessels from Europe, the colonies were in the greatest distress, and in want of almost every thing.

It was soon known through the medium of neutral vessels, that war was declared between England and France; and through the same channel also, as the packet letters were regularly sent from Barbadoes, that the bills drawn on Holland, in renewal of those dishonoured, were noted for non acceptance, and certainly would be protested at maturity, as no merchant in Holland would think of making any advances to Demerary, &c. in time of war; the situation of the merchants and planters was really distressing. Bills returning on them every day, accompanied with pressing letters from England, praying that provision may be made for such bills. Under these teasing circumstances, suffering under a loss of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, so large was the mere damages on the bills without interest and other expenses, which could not possibly be avoided from the nature of the business between the colonies and mother

country, accounts were daily reaching them of the capture of vessels homeward bound, with valuable cargoes, the amount of which being insured at a peace premium only against the risk of sea and weather, could of course not be recovered from the underwriters. The governor and council, to preserve the planters against the torrent of dishonoured paper, and suits instituted by the merchants for the recovery of their demands, found it necessary to stop the progress of justice, and close the courts for a few weeks, which was accordingly done, for having no vent for their produce, how could the planters derive advantage from it? and from there being no fixed colonial price, it would not there be taken in payment.

It is true that an order from the king and council was given to restore all produce belonging to British subjects which was captured on its way home; but this was of little avail, as it was accompanied with such restrictions that few of the sufferers were enabled to benefit from it. One stipulation was the making an affidavit, wherein the deponent must make oath that he is a British born subject; that it was his intention to leave the colony within three years, the time allowed by the treaty of Amiens for the English inhabitants to wind up their affairs, and that, for this purpose, he or they had absolutely offered and made every attempt in their power to sell their estates. Now as this was far from the intention of most of the planters so situated, they could not consistently make the required depo-

sition, by which means three-fourths of them totally lost their captured property. The other proportion, by acceding to the stipulation proposed, recovered their produce, but in such a mutilated state, that what with the expenses and fees of office attending the recovery, one half of the amount was expended in recovering the other. Under these circumstances the total loss sustained by the peace of Amiens may be calculated as follows:

Damages on bills returned - -	£.250,000
Expences of law suits, noting, protesting, postage, interest, &c. - - - -	10,000
Captures made by the British - -	1,000,000
	£.1,260,000
Recovered by order of the king and council	125,000
	£.1,135,000

This statement of facts, I should hope, will satisfactorily explain the causes of the late unpleasant situation of the colonies, and moreover, account to those connected with them, for the shortness of remittances which would in no way have been experienced had they remained under the British flag. But the repeated changes of their government, proved of very serious detriment to them. The loss of upwards of one million

one hundred thousand pounds sterling to an infant settlement, would naturally be felt a long time after. On the colonies capitulating to the British, in this present war, expectations were entertained that immediate remittances, to a large amount, would be made to Great Britain, but great obstacles occurred to prevent their accomplishment. From a drought, scarsely ever experienced before, in 1803--4, nearly the whole crop of plantains, the negroes chief food, failed, and those that came to perfection were purchased with avidity from three shillings and four-pence to five shillings per bunch, when the current price is only seven-pence halfpenny, and much better and larger in a good season than those which now sold at such an extravagant price. The plantations which had a large quantity of ground provisions, such as yams, sweet cassada, and potatoes, ochres, callallieu, peas, beans, &c. found their account in it. To make up the deficiency, large importations were made from North America and the West India islands, of flour, rice, maize, &c. a quantity of the latter, however, was produced in the colonies, but not equal to the consumption. The importations within the twelve months may be computed as follows :—30,000 barrels of flour, 6,000 hogsheads of rice, 1,000 puncheons of Indian corn; all of which sold at immense high prices, and for cash or present bill. Thus these large and unexpected demands consumed the available part of the planters' funds intended for the liquidation of their debts.

Considerable praise is due to the negroes for their orderly and good conduct throughout the scarsity, or rather famine; the change of diet did not agree with them, though medical assistance, port wine, sago, &c. were administered with increased attention. The number of deaths was never equalled in the same space of time. On many estates, the negroes only worked half days, and were allowed the remainder of the time to fish, and attend to their own concerns.

A circumstance which redounds to the honor of the court of justice at Demerary, I will relate. A Dutchman, well known on the east sea coast of that colony for the vulgarity of his person, coarseness of mind, and litigiousness of character, and possessing two clear unincumbered plantations, worked by three or four hundred negroes, was the only person during the scarsity convicted of ill treating them. It appeared that his negroes had been without provisions being served to them, a week or ten days, without any other cause being assigned for it than that flour was too dear. The poor fellows were continued at their work as usual, without any other food than that which they could pick up off their own grounds, or beg from their neighbours. Such was their situation, that incapable of subsisting any longer, they came to a determination to send a deputation to wait on the fiscal, at Stabroek, to lay before him a state of the case, and request immediate assistance for their fellow sufferers. The fiscal conferred with the governor, and

an extraordinary court was called. The charges were made by the negroes, and supported by witnesses brought for that purpose; it was clearly proved that the proprietor might have purchased provisions for his negroes, but would not. The court declared him incapable, and an improper person to manage his own affairs; they therefore appointed curators, or trustees, to superintend the estates, and bound him under a severe penalty and the displeasure of the court, to reside off the estate, and not interfere with the direction of the plantations, negroes, &c. the court making itself answerable for all the produce. A similar charge was brought against a Dutchman of Essequebo; suffice it to say, though he was a member of the honourable court of justice of that colony, he was fined fifteen thousand guilders. To prevent, if possible, ever such an occurrence again, the court of police revised and corrected the laws respecting provisions, and made the penalties and fines so high, as to insure their being attended to. Sworn surveyors were sent round the colonies to measure all the plantain walks, and those estates which had not an acre of full grown plantains for every four negroes, had heavy penalties inflicted on them.

This scarsity was by no means equally grievous in the shire of Surinam, where longer experience of the casualities of this climate had taught the planters better to proportion their garden-grounds to their farms. Yet it was not relieved and supplied by the spare produce of that district in the degree that

might be anticipated, for want of roads and internal channels of communication, along which to carry cheaply the provender to be distributed. There is also a want of draught-cattle: but this would soon be remedied, if ways were cleared and ferries established by the police.

Paramaribo has not produced all that effect on the contiguous settlements which might have been expected from its magnitude. It offers great resources not only to the merchant, but to the artificer. It is already mature for that secondary order of settlers, who are no longer occupied in stocking plantations and raising produce, but in distributing the comforts and accommodations of domestic life. From a want of inland conveyance, and easy communications through the interior, the luxury of Paramaribo cannot diffuse itself over the adjoining country. Each separate river insensibly forms for itself a sea-port near its mouth, which becomes a market for produce, and a warehouse of supply to all the estates upon its banks. But of cross country roads, of intercourse over the savannahs between one river and its neighbours, there is as yet little thought; although the district seems adapted for a chain of canals, which might unite far inland each river with the next, and make a second China of this most fertile and most improveable coast. A stabile annexation to the British crown once accomplished, this country will become the pride of South America.

I do not know Paramaribo as yet more than cursorily; although I have some hopes of eventually settling there. It is built on a sand-reef, well arranged, and the streets include beautiful alleys of orange and lemon trees. The houses are of wood, and have no chimnies; the kitchens, for coolness sake, are detached; it is a town far advanced in the arts of civilized life, above a mile in length, wide in proportion, and swarming already with an ever-thickening croud of many coloured inhabitants. The population of Paramaribo is estimated at eighteen or twenty thousand persons. Of these, the larger half, at least ten thousand persons, are negro and mulatto slaves. The free people of color are supposed to be about four thousand. There are from two to three thousand German and Portuguese jews; and about eighteen hundred English and Dutch Europeans. The number of temporary residents, as in all sea ports, varies with the season. Paramaribo is the Buenos Ayres of Guyana, the residence of all the native wealth, and the storehouse of what is most curious and precious among the productions of Europe. But in Buenos Ayres the catholic religion is exclusively established, and has splendid cathedrals and pompous processions to exhibit, in which the native Indians take great delight; while in Paramaribo, an unlimited toleration prevails, the jew, the catholic, the protestant, the deist, the heathen, visit or neglect at pleasure their respective opportunities of worship, and view with a reciprocal and friendly complacence, the varieties of their traditional observ-

ances. That political equality of all sects of opinion, which in Europe was unfortunately almost always confined to Holland, has been one of the great benefits conferred on Guyana by the laws of the United Netherlands. A congregation of French refugees, two sects of jews, a congregation of Labadists patronized by governor Somelsdyk, are among the earliest knots of settlers enumerated. Religious liberty has been the chief cause of the rapid colonization of the North American provinces, and if steadily preserved in Guyana, will no doubt bestow on it a like populousness and importance. Those ecclesiastical feuds which excite so much bitterness in the old world, are here unknown; nor is practical morality placed in the insignificant observance of Sunday gloom, of continence, and of not swearing, but in the liberal virtues of spirit and beneficence. There is perhaps a point of view in which a priesthood more numerous could be rendered useful, namely, as instructors of the young; the want of good schools renders it at present expedient to educate young men of family in Europe. This, however, preserves an attachment for the metropolitan country, and circulates its manners in the colonies.

One of the most remarkable places of worship in this town is a negro-chapel, supported by six German missionaries, called Hernhooters, or Moravians. They have translated the bible and a book of hymns into the talkee-talkee, or negro language, of which they have also composed a grammar. Service is per-

formed on Tuesday and Friday evenings, and three times on a Sunday. I went one evening—the place was elegantly lighted up. There is an organ, and the rites began by music. Two lines of a hymn were read distinctly by the priest, which the whole congregation repeated immediately after in full chorus to a prepared tune; then two lines more; and so on till the poem was finished. Next followed lessons from the bible; another hymn; a prayer; a third hymn; and finally a sermon, which terminated in some devotional ejaculation, during which all the people kneeled. The audience, which was very numerous and very orderly, was dismissed by the organ's sounding unaccompanied. These Moravians are the only religionists, who have made any progress in converting the negroes hereabouts. It is curious that the talkee-talkee, or patois of the blacks, though it includes many African words, should have for its basis the English language, pared of inflections, and softened by a multitude of vowel terminations. That the mass of creole population here on the continent, and under foreign sway, should still have been reared and taught beneath English masters and overseers, is no slight proof of the superior enterprize of our colonists, and humanity of our slave-drivers.

The shore of Guyana may first have been seen by the Spaniards, but it can hardly be said to have been explored until Sir Walter Raleigh's visits, which circulated a knowlege of the coast, and occasioned some English buccaneers to seek

residences there. In 1634 about sixty persons, several of them Frenchmen, under the presidency of a captain Marshall, had constructed dwellings on the banks of the Surinam, where they grew tobacco. Like many actual planters of the Mississippi, they went great part of the year to sea, selling their produce, and making freight of their ships, but regularly returned to sow and to reap, and deposited here the collections of their industry. In the year 1650, this voluntary settlement was thought worthy of being attended to; and Lord Willoughby, of Parham, was appointed governor, to whom certain chartered rights were given, in conjunction with the Earl of Clarendon's second son. But in 1667, the Dutch took this settlement by surprize; and obtained the entire cession of it in 1674, by the treaty of Westminster, in exchange for the province of New York; an unwise, a deplorable commutation.

The first Dutch settlers at Paramaribo, or Middelburg, as it was then called, were from the province of Zealand; but the States granted the colony to the West India Company, which in its turn sold a third share to the corporation of Amsteldam, and a third to Cornelius Van Aarsen, lord of Somelsdyk. This nobleman went out as governor, taking with him some convicts sentenced to hard labor, and about three hundred voluntary emigrants. He was not a popular governor; he instituted indeed an elective court of police, but claimed a degree of power over his fellow settlers, which they were only wil-

ling to concede to him in the management of their exterior concerns. He treated skilfully with the Indians, but ruled the troops so despotically, and imposed fatigues so insufferable under a tropical sun, that he was massacred by the conspiracy of twelve soldiers, in the year 1688. About this time it is recorded there were six hundred Dutch families settled along the Surinam.

The widow of Somelsdyk offered to transfer her third of the colonial allotments to our king William III. but the offer was not accepted. A French admiral, Cassard, plundered this settlement in 1712, levying on Paramaribo a contribution of fifty-five thousand pounds sterling. He ascended the river beyond the town, and set fire to many estates. The confusion prevalent at this period facilitated the desertion of a great many negroes.

It is common in Africa for negroes who dislike work to withdraw from their masters and live in the woods, like gipsies, or in a state of still greater wildness and privation. Near the Cape, there are kraals or villages of such, who are called bush men, from their living in the thicket. Some desertions of this kind took place while the English possessed Surinam, and a regular settlement of maroons, or wild negroes, was formed between the Copenam and Sarameca rivers. But about the

year 1725, these maroon or bush-negroes were become so numerous by the accession of fresh runaways, and by the natural fertility of their women, that they rendered the properties of the whites very insecure. They would go in bands to plunder an estate, to carry off powder and fire-arms, and to release such slaves as would join them. A great deal of land once under cultivation and very productive, has thus been conquered to liberty and desolation. Troops were sent for to Europe in order to quell these insurgents. In 1730, the ring-leaders were taken and barbarously executed. Even women were tortured to death. Cruelty is always impolitic. A series of retaliations, at which humanity sickens, ensued. White planters were in their turns hooked on trees, or roasted alive. Property became valueless for want of security. The expedient of treating with the bush-negroes was at length resorted to by governor Maurice in 1749. A creole negro named Adoe, was the rebel chieftain. On certain conditions of tribute he agreed to make peace with the governor: and exacted as one stipulation, a regular supply of powder and fire-arms. This treaty was ratified by an exchange of presents.

It appeared afterwards that Adoe was but a petty chieftain. Another rebel, called Zamzam, still continued to demand contributions. In 1753 Baron Spoke, in 1757 Mr. Cromelyn, succeeded to the governorship: both adopted the system of

pacifying the negroes by occasional presents. At length a chieftain, named Araby, acquired so extensive an authority that he could influence the conduct of all the wild negroes. He was taken into pay by the whites, and in 1761 signed the treaty of Ouca, which was generally respected.

The plantations now began to recover some value, and many forsaken estates were again inhabited. The West India company renewed their charter, at the expense of advancing to the Dutch government about five millions sterling. In 1763, Paramaribo suffered from fire: the activity of the sailors alone prevented a general conflagration: fire is truly tremendous where the upper part of the houses is of wood. The distress occasioned by this accident obliged government to issue a sort of paper money, consisting of stamped cards: this first issue was for forty thousand pounds sterling; but there is now much paper money in the colonies, which is received in payment of the taxes, and is widely convenient.

A more remarkable and far more extensive conflagration than that of Paramaribo took place in 1769, when the whole coast was on fire progressively from the Surinam to the Demerary. The flames were supposed to have been unintentionally kindled by the rebel negroes; but they spread with marvellous continuity, licking up vast forests, and laying waste wide plantations.

In 1770 the house of Somelsdyk sold its portion of the colony to the city of Amsteldam for sixty thousand pounds: but this is no exact criterion of the general prosperity. The administrative bodies often derive least from a country when it is internally thrifty and flourishing.

About 1772 the Cottica rebels began to collect; they were opposed by a rifle corps of picked negroes, bought of the planters for the purpose of being trained to arms. It was this alarming insurrection which gave occasion to the expedition narrated in so instructive and interesting a manner by captain Stedman. The general relaxation of severity in the treatment of negroes, the increased proportion of creole vassalry, who are formed from their very birth to the habits and requisitions of the European planters, the growing knowlege of negro tempers, opinions, and dispositions, the more certain and wholesome system of nutriment, the more liberal allowances of tobacco, rum, and similar luxuries, and the real diminution of hard and unpleasant labor, which the progress of settlement and the introduction of machinery necessarily prepare, seem likely to put an end to these long hostilities.

CHAPTER XVII.

EXTRACTS FROM SIR WALTER RALEGH'S RELATION OF HIS FIRST VOYAGE TO GUYANA—TRINIDAD, OR CAIRI—THE ESSEQUEBO COAST—THE RIVER ORINOKO.

I AM persuaded it will be agreeable to my readers, especially to my colonial readers, if I insert, from Sir Walter Ralegh's first voyage to these parts, an account of his discoveries along the coast of Guyana: it stamps a sort of Englishness on the shore, to have the first accounts of its rivers and inhabitants to seek in the relations of English navigators.

"On Thursday, February 6th, in the year 1595, we departed England, and the Sunday following had sight of the north cape of Spain, the wind for the most part continuing prosperous. We passed in sight of the Burlings and the rock, and so onward for the Canaries, and fell in with Fuerte Ventura the 17th of the same month, where we spent two or three days, and relieved our companies with some fresh meat. Thence we coasted by the Gran Canaria, and so to Teneriffe, and stayed there for the Lion's Whelp, and for captain Amias Preston, and

the rest. But when after seven or eight days we found them not, we departed and directed our course for Trinidado, with mine own ship and a small bark of captain Cross' only.

"We arrived at Trinidado, March 22d, casting anchor at Point Curiapan, which the Spaniards call Punto de Gallo, which is situate in 8°, or thereabout. We abode there four or five days, and in all that time we came not to the speech of any Spaniard. From Curiapan I came to a port and seat of Indians called Parico, where we found a fresh-water river, but saw no people. From thence I rowed to another port called by the naturals Piche, and by the Spaniards Tierra de Brea. In the way between both were divers little brooks of fresh water, and one salt river that had store of oysters upon the branches of the trees, and were very salt and well tasted. All their oysters grow upon those boughs and sprays, and not on the ground; the like is commonly seen in the West Indies and elsewhere.

"At this point called Tierra de Brea or Piche, there is that abundance of stone pitch, that all the ships of the world may be therewith laden from thence. We made trial of it, in trimming our ships, to be most excellent good, and melteth not with the sun as the pitch of Norway, and therefore for ships trading to the south parts it is very profitable. Thence we went to the mountain foot called Annaperima, and so pass-

ing the river Carone, on which the Spanish city was seated, we met with our ships at Puerto de los Hispanioles, or Conquerabia.

"This island of Trinidado hath the form of a sheep-hook, and is but narrow; the north part is very mountainous, the soil is very excellent, and will bear sugar, ginger, or any other commodity that the Indies yield. It hath store of deer, wild porks, fruits, fish, and fowl. It hath also for bread sufficient mais, cassavi, and of those roots and fruits which are common everywhere in the West Indies. It hath divers beasts which the Indies have not. The Spaniards confessed that they found grains of gold in some of the rivers, but they having a purpose to enter Guiana (the magazine of rich metals) cared not to spend time in the search thereof any farther. This island is called by the people thereof Cairi, and in it are divers nations; those about Parico are called Iaio, those at Punto Carao are of the Arwacas, and between Carao and Curiapan they are called Salvaios, between Carao and Punto Galera are the Nepoios, and those about the Spanish city term themselves Carinepagotos.

"The same evening there stole aboard of us, in a small canoe, two Indians, the one of them being a cassique, or lord of people, called Cantyman, who had the year before been with captain Whiddon, and was of his acquaintance. By this Can-

tyman we understood what strength the Spaniards had, how far it was to their city, and of Don Antonio de Berreo the governor, who was said to be slain in his second attempt of Guiana, but was not. While we remained at Puerto de los Hispanioles, some Spaniards came aboard us to buy linen of the company, and such other things as they wanted, and also to view our ships and company; all which I entertained kindly, and feasted after our manner. By means whereof, I learned, of one and other, as much of the estate of Guiana as I could, or as they knew.

"I sent captain Whiddon, the year before, to get what knowlege he could of Guiana; and the end of my journey, at this time, was to discover and enter the same. But my intelligence was far from truth; for the country is situate above six hundred English miles farther from the sea than I was made believe it had been.

"But because there may arise many doubts, and how this empire of Guiana is become so populous, and adorned with so many great cities, towns, temples, and treasures, I thought good to make it known, that the emperor now reigning is descended from those magnificent princes of Peru, of whose large territories, of whose policies, conquests, edifices, and riches, Pedro de Cieza, Francisco Lopez, and others, have written large discourses. For when Francisco Pacaro, Diego

Almagro, and others, conquered the said empire of Peru, and had put to death Atabalipa, son to Guaynacapa, (which Atabalipa had formerly caused his eldest brother Guascar to be slain), one of the younger sons of Guaynacapa fled out of Peru, and took with him many thousands of those soldiers of the empire called Orciones, and with those, and many others which followed him, he vanquished all that tract and valley of America which is situate between the great rivers of Amazons and Baraquan, otherwise called Maranyon, and Orinoko.

"The empire of Guiana is directly east from Peru toward the sea, and lieth under the equinoctial line, and it hath more abundance of gold than any part of Peru, and as many, or more great cities than ever Peru had when it flourished most. It is governed by the same laws, and the emperor and people observe the same religion, and the same form and policies in government, as was used in Peru, not differing in any part. And, as I have been assured by such of the Spaniards as have seen Manoa, the imperial city of Guiana, which the Spaniards call El Dorado, for the greatness, the riches, and for the excellent seat, far exceedeth any of the world, at least of so much of the world as is known to the Spanish nation. It is founded upon a lake of salt water of two hundred leagues long, like unto Mare Caspium; and if we compare it to that of Peru, and but read the report of Francisco Lopez, and others, it will seem more than credible.

"Such of the Spaniards as afterward endeavoured the conquest thereof (whereof there have been many, as shall be declared hereafter) thought that this Inga (of whom this emperor now living is descended) took his way by the river of Amazons, by that branch which is called Papamene. For by that way followed Oreliano, (by the commandment of the marquis Pacarro, in the year 1542) whose name the river also beareth this day, which is also by others called Maragnon, although Andrew Thevet doth affirm, that between Maragnon and Amazons, there are one hundred and twenty leagues. But sure it is, that those rivers have one head and beginning, and that Maragnon, which Thevet describeth, is but a branch of Amazons, or Oreliano, of which I will speak more in another place. It was also attempted by Diego Ordace, but whether before Oreliano, or after, I know not. But it is now little less than seventy years since that Ordace, a knight of the order of saint Jago, attempted the same, and it was in the year 1542, that Oreliano discovered the river of Amazons. But the first that ever saw Manoa was Johannes Martines, master of the munition to Ordace. At a port called Morequito, in Guiana, there lieth, at this day, a great anchor of Ordace's ship; and this port is some three hundred miles within the land, upon the great river of Orinoko.

"After Oreliano (who was employed by Pacaro, afterward marquis Pacaro, conqueror and governor of Peru), and the

death of Ordace and Martines, one Pedro de Osua, a knight of Navarre, attempted Guiana, taking his way from Peru, and built his brigantines upon a river called Oia, which riseth to the southward of Quito, and is very great. This river falleth into Amazons, by which Osua, with his companies, descended, and came out of that province which is called Mutylones; and it seemeth to me, that this empire is reserved for her Majesty and the English nation, by reason of the hard success which all these and other Spaniards found in attempting the same.

"Although, as I am persuaded, Guiana cannot be entered by the Maranyon, yet no doubt the trade of gold from thence passeth by branches of rivers into the river of Amazons, and so it doth on every hand far from the country itself. For those Indians of Trinidado have plates of gold from Guiana, and those cannibals of Dominica who dwell in the islands by which our ships pass yearly to the West Indies, also the Indians of Paria, those Indians called Tucaris, Chochi, Apotomios, Cumanagotos, and all those other nations inhabiting near about the mountains that run from Paria through the province of Vensuello, and in Maracapana, and the cannibals of Guanipa, the Indians called Assawai, Coaca, Aiai, and the rest (all which shall be described in my description as they are situate) have plates of gold of Guiana. And upon the river of Amazons, Thevet writeth, that the people wear croissants of gold, for of that form the Guianians most commonly make them.

"I made enquiry among the most ancient and best travelled of the Oronoqueponi, and I had knowlege of all the rivers between Orinoko and Amazons, and was very desirous to understand the truth of those warlike women, because of some it is believed, of others not.

"Berreo affirmed, that there fell one hundred rivers into Orinoko from the north and south, whereof the least was as big as Rio Grande, that passeth between Popayan and Nuevo Reyno de Granada (Rio Grande being esteemed one of the most renowned rivers in all the West Indies, and numbered among the great rivers of the world). But he knew not the names of any of these but Caroli only, neither from what nations they descended, neither to what provinces they led, for he had no means to discourse with the inhabitants at any time; neither was he curious in these things, being utterly unlearned, and not knowing the east from the west.

"Among many other trades, those Spaniards used in canoes to pass to the rivers of Barema,* Pawroma, and Essequebo, which are on the south side of the mouth of Orinoko, and there buy women and children from the cannibals, which are of that barbarous nature, as they will for three or four hatchets sell the sons and daughters of their own brethren and sisters,

* Probably Barema is the Demerary, and Pawroma the Pomaroon.

and, for somewhat more, even their own daughters. Hereof the Spaniards make great profit; for, buying a maid of twelve or thirteen years for three or four hatchets, they sell them again at Marguerita in the West Indies for fifty and a hundred pesoes, which is so many crowns.

"The master of my ship, John Douglas, took one of the canoes which came laden from thence with people to be sold, and the most of them escaped, yet of those he brought, there was one as well favoured, and as well shaped, as ever I saw any in England; and afterward I saw many of them, which but for their tawny color may be compared to any of Europe. They also trade in those rivers for bread of cassavi, of which they buy one hundred pound weight for a knife, and sell it at Marguerita for ten pesoes. They also recover great store of cotton, brasil-wood, and those beds which they call hamacas, or brasil-beds, wherein in hot countries all the Spaniards use to lie commonly, and in no other, neither did we ourselves while we were there.

"We could not learn of Berreo any other way to enter but in branches, so far to the windward as it was impossible for us to recover. For we had as much sea to cross over in our wherries as between Dover and Calais, and in a great billow, the wind and current being both very strong. So as we were driven to go in those small boats directly before the wind into

the bottom of the bay of Guanipa, and thence to enter the mouth of some one of those rivers, which John Douglas had last discovered, and had with us for pilot an Indian of Barema, a river to the south of Orinoko, between that and Amazons, whose canoes we had formerly taken as he was going from the said Barema laden with cassavi bread to sell at Marguerita. This Arwacan promised to bring me into the great river of Orinoko, but indeed of that which we entered we was utterly ignorant.

"But thus it chanced, that entering into a river, (which, because it had no name, we called the river of the Red-cross, ourselves being the first Christians that ever came therein) the 22d of May, as we were rowing up the same, we espied a small canoe with three Indians, which (by the swiftness of my barge, rowing with eight oars) I overtook ere they could cross the river. The rest of the people on the banks shadowed under the thick wood gazed on with a doubtful conceit what might befal those three which we had taken. But when they perceived that we offered them no violence, neither entered their canoe with any of ours, nor took out of the canoe any of theirs, they then began to show themselves on the bank's side, and offered to traffic with us for such things as they had. And as we drew near they all staid, and we came with our barge to the mouth of a little creek which came from their town into the great river. Those people which dwell in these broken

islands and drowned lands are generally called Tivitivas; there are of them two sorts, the one called Ciawani, and the other Waraweete.

"These Tivitivas are a very goodly people, and very valiant, and have the most manly speech and most deliberate that ever I heard of what nation soever. In the summer they have houses on the ground as in other places. In the winter they dwell upon the trees, where they build very artificial towns and villages. For between May and September the river of Orinoko riseth thirty feet upright, and then are those islands overflown twenty feet high above the level of the ground, saving some few raised grounds in the middle of them; and for this cause they are enforced to live in this manner. They never eat of any thing that is set or sown, and as at home they use neither planting nor other manurance, so when they come abroad they refuse to feed of aught, but of that which nature without labor bringeth forth. They use the tops of palmitos for bread, and kill deer, fish, and porks, for the rest of their sustenance. They have also many sorts of fruits that grow in the woods, and great variety of birds and fowl.

"And if to speak of them were not tedious and vulgar, surely we saw in those passages of very rare colors and forms, not elsewhere to be found, for as much as I have either seen

or read. Of these people, those that dwell upon the branches of Orinoko, called Capuri and Macureo, are for the most part carpenters of canoes, for they make the most and fairest houses, and sell them into Guiana for gold, and into Trinidado for tobacco, in the excessive taking whereof they exceed all nations. When their commanders die they use great lamentation, and when they think the flesh of their bodies is putrified, and fallen from the bones, then they take up the carcase again, and hang it in the cassique's house that died, and deck his skull with feathers of all colours, and hang all his gold plates about the bones of his arms, thighs, and legs. Those nations which are called Arwacas, which dwell on the south of Orinoko (of which place and nation our Indian pilot was), are dispersed in many other places, and do use to beat the bones of their lords into powder, and their wives and friends drink it all in their several sorts of drinks. After we departed from the port of these Ciawani, we passed up the river with the flood, and anchored the ebb, and in this sort we went onward.

"That night we came to an anchor at the parting of three goodly rivers (the one was the river of Amana, by which we came from the north, and ran athwart toward the south, the other two were of Orinoko, which crossed from the west, and ran to sea toward the east) and landed upon a fair sand, where we found thousands of tortoises' eggs, which are very whole-

some meat, and greatly restoring; so as our men were now well filled, and highly contented both with the fare, and nearness of the land of Guiana, which appeared in sight. In the morning there came down, according to promise, the lord of that border called Toparimaca, with some thirty or forty followers, and brought us divers sorts of fruits, and of his wine, bread, fish, and flesh, whom we also feasted as we could; at least he drank good Spanish wine, (whereof we had a small quantity in bottles) which above all things they love.

"I conferred with this Toparimaca of the next way to Guiana, who conducted our galley and boats to his own port, and carried us from thence some mile and a half to his town, where some of our captains caroused of his wine till they were reasonably pleasant, for it is very strong with pepper, and the juice of divers herbs and fruits digested and purged. They keep it in great earthen pots of ten or twelve gallons, very clean and sweet, and are themselves at their meetings and feasts the greatest carousers and drunkards of the world. When we came to this town we found two cassiques, whereof one of them was a stranger that had been up the river in trade, and his boats, people, and wife, encamped at the port where we anchored, and the other was of that country, a follower of Toparimaca. They lay each of them in a cotton hammock, which we call brasil-beds, and two women attending them with six cups and a little ladle to fill them, out of an earthen

pitcher of wine, and so they drank each of them three of those cups at a time, one to the other; and in this sort they get drunk at their feasts and meetings.

"The seat of this town of Toparimaca was very pleasant, standing on a little hill, in an excellent prospect, with goodly gardens, a mile compass round about it, and two very fair and large ponds of excellent fish adjoining. This town is called Arowocai; the people are of the nation called Nepoios, and are followers of Carapana. In that place I saw very aged people, that we might perceive all their sinews and veins without any flesh, and but even as a case covered only with skin. The lord of this place gave me an old man for pilot, who was of great experience and travel, and knew their river most perfectly both by day and night.

"The next day we hasted thence, and having an easterly wind to help us, we spared our arms from rowing; for, after we entered Orinoko, the river lieth for the most part east and west, even from the sea unto Quito in Peru. This river is navigable with ships little less than one thousand miles, and, from the place where we entered, it may be sailed up in small pinnaces to many of the best parts of Nuevo Reyno de Granado, and of Popayan. And from no place may the cities of these parts of the Indies be so easily taken and invaded as hence. All that day we sailed up a branch of that river, hav-

ing on the left hand a great island, which they call Assapana, which may contain some twenty-five miles in length, and six miles in breadth, the great body of the river running on the other side of this island. Beyond that middle branch, there is also another island in the river, called Iwana, which is twice as big as the Isle of Wight; and beyond it, and between it and the main Guiana, runneth a third branch of Orinoko called Arraroopana. All three are goodly branches, and all navigable for great ships. I judge the river in this place to be at least thirty miles broad, reckoning the islands which divide the branches in it; for afterward I sought also both the other branches.

"After we reached to the head of this island, called Assapana, a little to the westward on the right hand, there opened a river which came from the north, called Europa, and fell into the great river; and beyond it, on the same side, we anchored for that night, by another island six miles long, and two miles broad, which they call Ocawita. From hence, in the morning, we landed two Guianians, which we found in the town of Toparimaca, that came with us, who went to give notice of our coming to the lord of that country, called Putyma, a follower of Topiawari, chief lord of Arromai, who succeeded Morequito. But his town being far within the land, he came not unto us that day, so as we anchored again that night near the banks of another island, of bigness much like

the other, which they call Putapayma, on the main land, over-against which island was a very high mountain called Oecope. We coveted to anchor rather by these islands in the river, than by the main, because of the tortoises' eggs, which our people found on them in great abundance, and also because the ground served better for us to cast our nets for fish, the main banks being for the most part stony and high, and the rocks of a blue metalline colour, like unto the best steel ore, which I assuredly take it to be. Of the same blue stone are also divers great mountains, which border this river in many places.

"The next morning toward nine of the clock we weighed anchor, and the breeze increasing, we sailed alway west up the river, and after a while opening the land on the right side, the country appeared to be champaign, and the banks shewed very perfect red. And my old pilot, a man of great travel, brother to the cassique Toparimaca, told me, that those were called the plains of the Sayma; and that the same level reached to Cumana and Carracas, in the West Indies, which are one hundred and twenty leagues to the north, and that there inhabited four principal nations. The first were the Sayma, the next Assawai, the third and greatest the Wikiri, the fourth are called Aroras, and are as black* as negroes, but

* That there were black nations aboriginally in America, is also affirmed in some Portuguese voyages.

have smooth hair, and these are very valiant, or rather desperate people, and have the most strong poison on their arrows, and most dangerous of all nations. But by this time as well Orinoko, Caroli, as all the rest of the rivers were risen four or five feet in height, so as it was not possible by the strength of any men, or with any boat whatsoever, to row into the river against the stream.

"When we ran to the tops of the first hills of the plain adjoining to the river, we beheld that wonderful breach of waters which ran down Caroli; and might from that mountain see the river, how it ran in three parts above twenty miles off, and there appeared some ten or twelve overfalls in sight, every one as high over the other as a church-tower, which fell with that fury that the rebound of waters made it seem, as if it had been all covered over with a great shower of rain; and in some places we took it at the first for a smoke that had risen over some great town.

"I never saw a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects, hills so raised here and there over the vallies, the river winding into divers branches, the plains adjoining without bush or stubble, all fair green grass, the ground of hard sand easy to march on either for horse or foot, the deer crossing in every path, the birds toward the evening singing on every tree with a thousand several tunes, cranes and herons,

of white, crimson, and carnation, perching on the river's side, the air fresh with a gentle easterly wind, and every stone that we stooped to take up, promised either gold or silver by its complexion.

"Having learned what I could in Canuri and Aromaia, and received a faithful promise of the principalest of those provinces to become servants to her Majesty, and to resist the Spaniards if they made any attempt in our absence, and that they would draw-in the nations about the lake of Cassipa, and those Iwarawakeri, I then parted from old Topiawari, and received his son for a pledge between us, and left with him two of ours. To Francis Sparrow I gave instructions to travel to Macureguarai, with such merchandize as I left with him, thereby to learn the place, and if it were possible to go on to the great city of Manoa. Which being done, we weighed anchor, and coasted the river on Guiana-side, because we came up on the north-side, by the lawns of the Saima and Wikiri.

"The next day we landed on the island of Assapana, (which divideth the river from that branch by which we went down to Emeria) and there feasted ourselves with that beast which is called armadilla, presented unto us before at Winicapora. And the day following, we recovered the galley at anchor at the port of Toparimaca, and the same evening de-

parted with very foul weather and terrible thunder and showers, for the winter was come on very far. The longer we tarried the worse it was, and therefore I took captain Gifford, captain Calfield, and my cousin Greenville, into my barge, and after it cleared up about midnight, we put ourselves to God's keeping, and thrust out into the sea, leaving the galley at anchor, who durst not adventure but by day light. And so being all very sober and melancholy, one faintly cheering another to shew courage, it pleased God that the next day about nine of the clock, we descried the island of Trinidado; and steering for the nearest part of it, we kept the shore till we came to Curiapan, where we found our ships at anchor, than which there was never to us a more joyful sight."

Thus it happened that almost the same stations were taken for the purpose of exploring the land, which empire must occupy, and in the same order, for the purpose of colonizing and civilizing the region. At first a great permanent position is taken at Trinidad. Next, the mouths of the Pomaroon, of the Essequebo, of the Demerary, and of the Surinam, are noticed; and lastly, the right bank of the Orinoko is to be undertaken, as far as the important and wealthy settlement of San Thomas.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF GUYANA IN GENERAL—WHAT CAN BE DONE FOR GUYANA?—OCCUPY CAYENNE—NEGOTIATE WITH PORTUGAL FOR THE CESSION OF THE NORTHERN BANK OF THE MARANYO—RESTORE BUENOS AYRES TO SPAIN FOR THE MORE VALUABLE DISTRICTS ALONG THE ORINOKO—INCREASE THE SPLENDOR OF THE INTERIOR GOVERNMENTAL ESTABLISHMENT—SURVEY THE COUNTRY SCIENTIFICALLY—IMPORT CHINESE COLONISTS.

GUYANA has a form nearly triangular, and is computed to contain a quarter of a million of square miles. It is bounded on the north-east by the Atlantic ocean; on the south by the Maranyo, or river of Amazons, and on the west by the river Orinoko. In a journey through the interior of South America, performed in 1743, Condamine learned the singular fact that the Orinoko sends several branch-streams into the Maranyo, although their principal mouths are above seven hundred miles asunder. Of these branches the Yupura is commonly considered as forming the western verge of Guyana, which is thus completely insulated, and is probably circumna-

vigable. This prodigious extent of river-coast is no less adapted for every variety of tropical production, than the brink of the Nile, or Ganges. But some European colonies must be founded at the confluences of the chief streams, before those agricultural arts can be put in motion, to which the climate and the soil of this province are so admirably adapted. Millions of men might be fed and employed by the produce of its fertile savannas.

As yet the interior of the district has been little penetrated. A chain of mountains, called Mei, nearly parallel with the form of the coast, and a lake called Parima, whose extent varies with the seasons, form the only prominent objects of observation. From these mountains, rivers radiate in every direction: some, like the Essequebo, fall into the Atlantic; some, like the Caroni, or as Sir Walter Ralegh calls it, the Caroli, join the Orinoko; and some, like the Rioblanco, unite with the river of Amazons. Savage tribes, resembling in manners the Caribbees, but whose dialects differ from each other, are thinly scattered over the whole district: they depend more on fishing than hunting, and prefer to frequent the edges of the waters; their labor is most easily obtained for purposes of navigation.

The climate of Guyana is the mildest and most wholesome of any tropical country hitherto inhabited by Europeans. This

may be ascribed principally to its receiving the trade-wind fresh from the surface of a vast track of ocean. Thus a perpetual stream of cool air from the east overflows Guyana; while, on the opposite coast of Africa, the same equatorial wind, blowing over land, comes laden with the pestilential sultriness of sandy deserts. Beside the perpetual general flow of the whole atmosphere westward, it has a lateral fluctuation daily, termed the sea-breeze and the land-breeze. The sea-breeze, which is the cooler of the two, blows from the north-east during the day, and temperates its ardor; so that we have less heat at noon than at nine in the morning. The land-breeze, which is the warmer of the two, blows from the south-east during the night, and prevents too rapid a chillness. The weather is even, as well as temperate. The heavy dews, the sunshine, the clouds, the rains, which prevail especially from May to November, and water the lands for about three hours every afternoon, always happen according to expectation. The almanack maker, without being a wizard, is here a prophet. No hurricanes intervene to snatch from the planter his crops; nor do I recollect a drought. The great superiority of the Guyana coast to the Caribbee islands, which are exposed to the tempestuous edge and border of the trade-wind, in point of wholesomeness and of security from casualties, is now so well known, that it operates as an increasing motive with the West Indians, to transfer their vassals and machinery to the continent. If the cheapness of sugar should continue,

it can still be cultivated with a profit in Guyana, while the island planters will incur absolute ruin. The rapid mortality of their slaves, the capricious visitations of the hurricane, the great risk of drought, and especially the vast expense of removing, by means of mules, the produce from the field, which is here accomplished by water-carriage, operate as heavy draw-backs on their profits, which an interruption of their intercourse with North America may at any time annihilate. Earthquakes are sometimes felt in Guyana; but they are never formidable in the lowlands and flat regions, where alone there are settlements. Inundations are more frequent and more destructive accidents; but as the forests beside the rivers waste, these floods are observed to become seldomer. Pestilence is very rare.

The Carribbee islands, especially the more northern, are as much overvalued in Great Britain, as the continent is undervalued. They have ceased to be of use: they have performed their appointed task in the civilization of the world. Without first undertaking the cultivation of sugar in small islands, whence the African labourers could not run away; there would have been no possibility of rearing and training a creole peasantry, adapted for the coasts of the West Indian archipelago. The blacks, whom it was attempted to inure on the continent to agricultural toil, deserted incessantly, as they do in the neighbourhood of the Cape, and formed their

kraals, or gipsey villages, of bush negroes, who were always ready to harbour discontented slaves, and to conspire with them for plundering and burning the plantations, and murdering the persons, of the whites. This creole peasantry is at length reared. Innumerable negroes are now grown up in the West Indies, who have never known the satisfaction of sloth and independence, and who have no idea of any other possible manner of subsistence, than that of working regularly for the planter who issues their allowances. These home-born negroes, when transplanted to the continent, do not desert into the wilderness; they prefer the regular task of moderate toil, and the certain and comfortable maintenance it insures, to the privations and hazards of the savage state. But the sooner this creole peasantry is transferred from the Carribbee islands to the continent of Guyana the better. For the same number of labourers can produce every commodity of the Carribbee islands more cheaply and abundantly, and with less exertion on the main land. While uncleared, the islands are rapidly depopulated by contagious disorders; and when cleared, become barren from drought; so that there is always a superfluous expense to incur for the waste of labourers, or for the deficiency of crops. These islands, therefore, should in preference, be ceded to France and Holland, if any thing must be restored; or by the artificial discouragement of their agriculture, be induced to transfer to Guyana the mass of their population and capital.

The central parts of Guyana not having been visited by any missionaries, the religion of nature still prevails there. Certain vapors, or spirits, to which the savages ascribe thunders and fevers, are the objects of their fear and propitiatory worship. They do not ascribe a human form to these divinities, but conceive them to have brought hither the first man, whom they call Longwo; their heathenism is not yet advanced to idolatry. The catholic religion flourishes in the western and southern borders of Guyana; and begins to extend from the Spanish and Portuguese settlements into the Indian villages, the inhabitants of which flock on procession-days to the churches, with parrots' feathers stuck in their hair, to see the parade and listen to the music. The protestant religions are professed along the north-eastern, or Atlantic, coast. In these parts, however, there are many Jews, whom the Dutch do not regard with a liberal benevolence. A Dutch lady from superstition will not visit a jewess. The wives of the richest Jews were not invited to the official festivals and balls of the Dutch governors. Nor has the laudable example of the Prince of Wales, in visiting the jew banker, Goldschmidt, been imitated by the chiefs of our own establishments. Such dramas as Cumberland's Jew, or Nathan the Wise, should be performed at Paramaribo. There is less of this religious repulsion in the catholic settlement at Cayenne. Intolerance is in every view a public misfortune; for the insulted sect has always its allegiance ready for a new sovereign, in the hope of future favor. If the French were in

strength at Cayenne, they would, from this cause, perhaps be able to render the sway of Bonaparte acceptable to certain descriptions of men in the contiguous colonies.

The oriental historian Hossein Khan, who had witnessed, in a very different quarter of the world, the needless and grievous evils of superstitious partiality, thus recommends equal indulgence: "After all it must be remembered that, as princes and kings are reputed the shadows of God, they ought, in humble imitation of his divine attributes, to accommodate themselves to the dispositions and minds of their subjects, so as to carry an equal hand over them, without exception, without predilection, and without shewing a dislike, or hatred, to any species of men. Such impartiality is incumbent upon princes, if they intend to be the fathers and cherishers of the people intrusted to their care; and if they really wish that every man should look up to the monarch, as to his benevolent, forgiving father. This is a duty incumbent on them, if they wish that every one should think himself happy under their government; for the subject must be cherished in the very palm of the monarch's hand, if the monarch really intends to discharge his duty, and to let the world see that he feels all the meaning of these verses of Saadi:

"That beneficent Being, which, from its invisible treasury,
Feeds with an equal hand, the believer,

The unbeliever, the weak mind and the strong,
Might, if it had so pleased him, have created men of one opinion,
Or have converted them at one word
To one and the same religion."

The first step to be taken for the security of what has been already acquired by the British government in Guyana is certainly to occupy Cayenne. The value of the acquisition is less to be considered, than the expediency of displacing from the continent a powerful neighbour every way dangerous to the internal tranquillity and prosperity. In proportion to the progress of settlement and of purchase, a British interest grows up in the several administrative bodies. This interest insensibly becomes a party opposed to the old Dutch landed interest, and is its competitor for the distribution of patronage, for the favor of the sovereign, and for the direction of those various public undertakings, which so materially affect the local value of nascent properties. While the ascendency remains in the old hands, or in fair equipoise, people are easy; but it may be expected that the British party will ere long, through the indirect aid of the governors and public officers, become every where the domineering influence. In such case discontent may arise; and the ancient proprietors, especially if irritated by inconvenient changes in the system of vassalage, may, through their connexions in Holland, concert with Bonaparte to have the settlements in Guyana re-demanded for the subsisting subordinate government in Holland, at the next negotiation of a peace.

If any tendency to court a reunion with the old metropolis should make its appearance in Dutch Guyana, no doubt Cayenne would become the centre of intrigue. There, a powerful neighbour has a footing, who is always willing to accept, and as far as land-service goes, always able to support the allegiance of the discontented. A fleet off the coast is not a defense against troops marched through the interior. The French have many people of talent at Cayenne, quite adequate to stirring up sedition, and undertaking the administration of a colony: they are less rich in merchants of capital, or in patient and skilled agriculturists.

The civilization of countries is always proportioned to the density rather than to the number of the people. The same quantity of individuals distributed over a narrow surface, will each have more wants, and will each acquire a more various instruction, than if dispersed over a wide surface. Whatever disbands and separates men, renders less necessary the acquirement of education, the social arts, the showy comforts, the domestic conveniences, and the cares of neatness. The natural indolence of every individual is found to bring him a grade nearer to savagism at every remove into a less thronged neighbourhood. No citizen can be long settled in the country without rusticating. No colonist can migrate toward the back settlements, without a sensible approximation of his habits to those of the wild man of nature. At every successive generation the

progress is still more sensible; and but for the perpetual importation of Europeans at the sea-ports, the very memory of the refinement and civilization of their ancestors might die away among the land-owners of the interior.

In order to resist the perpetual tendency of the settled and native population to diverge and to degenerate, pretences for frequent assemblages of the people should be contrived. To the fairs instituted by the Dutch, and to the religious pageants founded by the Spanish, might perhaps be added the attraction of public games and manly exercises, in which the savages could be induced to become competitors as well as spectators. When they visit our towns they bring some singularities from the interior, they learn to know what we prize, and they carry back several of our instruments and utensils, which will eventually become permanent articles of demand. A still more important cause of regular assemblage and reciprocal influence is the representative character of those administrative bodies, to which the provincial police of all colonies may most expediently be intrusted. The honor of a power freely conferred by the choice of the proprietors, serves to stimulate and to recompense education throughout the whole body.

Not mere extent of dominion, but populous extent is the cause of every improvement. The roads of intercourse, the canals of irrigation and traffic, nay the very structure of every

one's house, depend for their excellence on the croudedness of the neighbourhood. It is far better to attract a million of men into a province, than to disperse them over an empire. But there are cases in which extent of empire is itself the condition of condensing the populousness of its parts. A toll-gate road from Stabroek to Paramaribo is within the competence of the established authorities: but the thoroughfare along that road would be doubled, if it extended in the one direction to San Thomas, and in the other to Cayenne. While Cayenne is French; the worse the communication by land with Paramaribo, the more agreeable to the European metropolis; if Cayenne appertained to the same sovereign, his interest is then to facilitate the communication. The like principle may be applied to the extension of a common interest across the French into the Portuguese territory.

What difficulty could Great Britain have to fear in undertaking a negotiation with the court of Lisbon for the cession of that part of Guyana, which lies between the Oyapoco and the Maranyo? A large grant of money, or a tribute for twenty years, would no doubt be thought an equivalent, for ceding a nominal right of sovereignty, over a part of the Brazilian empire, to which the force of its protection, and the influence of its circulation, does not yet extend. The Maranyo, or river of Amazons, is the practical boundary of Portuguese ascendency; the missionaries and pedlars, who visit its northern

bank, have hardly, as yet, taught there the European name of a saint, or of a pair of scissars. But if, by that cession, the navigation of the Maranyo could be opened to the West Indies; almost every thing now procured from North America, would be furnished more cheaply and no less expeditiously, by the southern river-coast of Guyana. Barley is singularly good there: for the culture of rice, it is better adapted than the Carolinas, or than Louisiana. Timber, shingles, hoops, and tubstaves may be collected with facility by establishing saw-mills on the streams that fall into the Maranyo. Wax and honey may be had in any quantity of the Indians. Hides cost only the labor of killing the cattle. An earth useful in pottery is thence procured by the Portuguese.

A curious instance of progress in the civilization of those savages, that dwell in the Portuguese territory, is related by Coutinho in his account of the commerce of Brazil. Domingo Alvarez Pesanka, who loved the Indians, and was desirous of their good will, caused to be erected for their exclusive use, a large and spacious building, which was fitted up according to their own taste. This edifice stands close to the water's edge, so that they may thence bathe, as is their custom, every morning and afternoon. This same building, also serves them as a warehouse, or bazar, and is always crouded with strangers, who come well laden from beyond the mountains, to deal with the Portuguese inhabitants of the province.

They bring birds, wax, honey, mats, fossils, and other things which they collect, and here barter them for swords and iron tools of different kinds. If they have not brought wherewith to make the purchases they covet, they will let themselves for so many days, as wood-cutters, an employment in which they are expert.

The navigation of the Maranyo has one great advantage over that of the Mississippi, that the trade-wind perpetually blows up-stream. Thus the wandering vessels have always a current either of water or of air to move by. The shipping which comes down to New Orleans with produce, seldom re-ascends: so laborious and incessant is the human effort requisite to quant the vessels back: they are commonly sold off as lumber in some of the Atlantic sea-ports. But the shipping built in the Maranyo will there become an attached property, and will contribute, no less than the stationary dwellings on its banks, to employ industry, to diffuse plenty, to promote consumption, and to bring prosperity to anchor.

All the British West Indies would be benefited by free access to the interior of South America. All the other parts of the British dominions would be benefited. Extent of empire answers the same purpose as the adoption of liberal principles of commerce. Could all nations trade with all, free from prohibition or restriction, without issuing a bounty or levying a

tribute at the custom-house, without making treaties of commerce in behalf of favoured nations, or excluding hereditary foes from the market of general competition, every thing would be grown where it can be produced cheapest, manufactured where the labor of men or of machines can be applied with the greatest advantage, and brought at the expedient season, to the home of the consumer, with the smallest possible burden of expense and of profit. Among the parts of an extensive empire, this desirable equality of privilege usually prevails. The several provinces mostly enjoy one with another this equitable reciprocity of intercourse. In the different districts belonging to the same sovereign, there is seldom much locality of privilege. Industry is left to its natural walk and prosperity to its natural seat. Great Britain is content alike to take her sugar and cochineal, her cotton and indigo, from Bengal or from Stabroek. If an inequality of privilege in some respects prevails, it is rather in her export than in her import trade, and it is rather the East than the West Indies, which have cause for complaint. But the inconvenience of chartered companies and of legalized monopolies is become so apparent from the more rapid progress of West Indian than of East Indian commerce, that even these distinctions will no doubt soon incur abolition; and an universal toleration of private judgment in purchasing, and of the appropriate industry of each colony, will supersede the patronized establishments of a darker age.

Whenever this colonial equality, this communion of provincial rights, shall be thoroughly conceded by parliament, there are few portions of the inhabited earth, which will not have acquired a strong interest in becoming attached to the British empire. If, instead of employing the celebrated enthusiast of liberty, general Miranda, to agitate the Caraccas, his knowlege of the country, and his intelligence among the people, had been called in merely to direct the conquest of the western bank of the Orinoko, by a regular army, whose presence and whose principles would have excited no apprehension of a servile war, and of a general insurrection of the working negroes, that strip of country might lately have been added to, and consolidated with, our possessions in Guyana.

The bocas of the Orinoko are well worth the sollicitude of the British admiralty. They now pour out in time of war a multitude of small privateers, picaroon boats, as we call them, which take petty prizes to a vast amount collectively among the West Indian shipping. These picaroon boats are not valuable enough to attract the notice of men of war; and our mercantile capitals are otherwise engaged in the colonies, than to be conveniently applicable for privateering. Prize-money, it seems, is not thought worth dividing on board the British fleets, unless when it amounts to a considerable sum. Hence it happens that this petty predatory warfare proceeds unmolested; and the colony-craft, which conducts our coasting-

trade, is snapped up by these sharks with a most teasing and ruinous voracity. The black sailors are mostly sold for slaves, and the produce on board finds its way through Tortola, into the English, or, through some American ship-broker, into the European continental market.

A conquest of the province of New Cumana is the only fundamental remedy. This fine district up to Ciudad-real might surely have been attained, without any greater expenditure of life and effort than was lately lent to general Miranda. But the enterprize should have been definite in its purpose and object, avowedly directed to the mere purpose of British conquest, and restricted to the eastern bank of the Orinoko. The assertion of independence is a far greater hazard to run than a ready submission to a British army. Subjects, who should take part in a rebellious change, would have to apprehend sudden severities from the governors of all those places, which might persevere in allegiance; would have to apprehend the consequences of being shortly repressed by troops from Mexico, or from Cuba; and would have to apprehend the eventual vengeance of the Spanish court, if Great Britain had to abandon their interests at a peace. But the worst that can happen, after a British conquest, is to be ceded back, to the parent-country, when war ceases in Europe, after tasting the profits of a freer trade, and forming some acquaintances in an heretical garrison.

A British military invasion proclaims a kind of fair, which is welcome in the West Indies. The variety of things arriving for sale, and the wider markets opened to produce, increase circulation, and raise the value of rentable property. Martinique has had every reason to rejoice even in the temporary sway of Great Britain. And so would any Spanish settlement. But the Spaniards entertain perhaps as yet some prejudices against the religion of the English. Irish regiments, with a visible accompaniment of catholic priests, ought therefore preferably to be sent among Spaniards. Not many years ago, the protestant planters at Grenada, made a conspiracy to pull down the catholic churches in that island. A similar intolerance is feared from any other heretical conquest. I believe that the English people are become very tolerant; I never saw an instance of insult offered to the religion of a neighbour; I never heard a murmur at the state's distributing in Canada its ecclesiastic patronage among catholics. But the government has, nevertheless, not the reputation of being tolerant; and this is what operates at a distance, and in colonial provinces. The repeated parliamentary refusals of Irish emancipation, and the declamatory indignation of the friends of the catholics, are the chief facts which reach the popish clergy of South America. To place ostentatiously a catholic archbishop, a domestic pope, in the house of lords, and to employ some Irish missionaries in visiting Guyana, are the expedient preparatory steps for acquiring the entire confidence of the ec-

clesiastic party in the Spanish settlements here. I rejoice much in the conquest of Buenos Ayres; but I doubt whether that conquest will prove to be so stable an acquisition as is expected, for want of any previous precaution to conciliate the religious portion of the people, which sways not only the great body of the Spaniards, but also of the contiguous Indian nations. Yet brilliant as the first seizure of Buenos Ayres may have been; and important as the emporium for all the produce which descends the Plata may appear; I am deliberately persuaded that Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, and all the dependent provinces, would be well exchanged for the narrower eastern bank of the Orinoko.

The Orinoko is not subject, like the Plata, to those hurricanes from the Andes, which destroy, at a sweep, all the craft of navigation. The wonderful quantity of cattle is alike remarkable on the meadows of either river. The variety of accessible country, and the quantity of timbered shore, is greater on the Orinoko. And the peculiarity, which this latter river offers, during the season of inundation, of supplying a navigable passage into the Maranyo, must give to it, for extent of interior communication, an advantage over the Plata. Its eventual importance, therefore, may rationally be expected to transcend that of a river, which is not of greater dimensions, which is no thoroughfare, and which does not open into a sea, so dotted with islands, and encircled with havens.

Nor is there perhaps so much difference, as is commonly imagined, between the actual progress of settlement, of cultivation, and of populousness, on the banks of the two rivers. The Plata is best known in Europe; because Buenos Ayres figured in the red book, was the seat of a titled governor, and offered the hope of a large spoil of patronage to the courtiers. Besides, the vast silver tribute of Peru was often sent home through that channel. But the Spaniards not having created a privileged harbour within the Orinoko, the produce of the bordering provinces has habitually been carried for shipment to Trinidad, Goayre, or the Havanna. It has made no noise in the tariffs of the custom-house. A recent traveller estimates at 114,000 the settled colonial population of New Cumana and and Spanish Guyana. The produce raised by such a number of employed individuals cannot be inconsiderable, or unimportant; particularly as it embraces some articles, such as chocolate, sarsaparilla, bark, and various dying-stuffs, in addition to tobacco, coffee, cotton, and sugar, so generally grown in these districts for exportation. To be sure the surplus produce of a colony of creoles of Spanish descent is by no means as great as the surplus produce of an equally populous colony under English guidance and management. For the Spaniards have progressively accommodated their habits so entirely to the country, the climate, and the gifts of the soil, that they consume, at home, a larger proportion of what they grow, and import from Europe a smaller proportion of what they

use, than any other set of people. They are nearly self-sufficient. They have naturalized themselves in South America far more completely than any other Europeans. They are really more puzzled to send home their taxes, than to supply their domestic consumption, whenever a war interrupts their intercourse with old Spain.

The Spaniards have come to America, because there is room to live with little labor. Their numbers expand with the quiet regularity of patriarchal families. They place wise conduct in actual enjoyment; not in the restless pursuit of riches to be displayed in old age among new acquaintance and in another hemisphere. Those, who leave Spain, come to stay, and not to return. They consider their adopted country, not as a counting-house where they are to earn a fortune, but as an estate where they are to found a family. And thus, though each life is less productive of emolument to the individual, it bequeaths more to the prosperity of the region. The English build wooden houses very fast; the Spaniards very slow, but with brick and stone. Churches rise beside their dwellings; and so do schools and colleges. The latin grammar of Nebrija may be inferior to the Eton grammar; but it is taught in the colonies. The English send home their children for the very elements of education.

Hence there is great value in a settled population of the Spanish breed; they are a pledge for enduring unremoving pros-

perity. They are adapted to consume works of the fine arts, engravings of religious pictures, candelabres, altar-pieces, and costly vestments for the priesthood. They are adapted to civilize the servile population, which, if lazier, is certainly gentler and less disposed to revolt, in the Spanish possessions. Even in San Domingo the Spanish portion has been comparatively free from insurrection.

It is therefore greatly to be desired, that the English government should bend its attention toward protecting, according to their own wishes, the Spanish colonists. Those situate on the Orinoko could immediately be provided, under British protection, with every thing which renders an European connexion desirable to them; with better stores of supply, with wider markets of vent, and with Irish merchants of their own faith, to conduct their intercourse, and to amalgamate with their population.

In case a transfer of dominion should allow open intercourse between the West Indies and the provinces up the Orinoko, a vast many new settlers would domesticate there. The natural influence of the neighbourhood would pour into these colonies a truly British spirit. The additional planters, and the removed slaves, would soon bring in much of our habits and our dialect, would soon teach our activity and our wants. Thus the mass of public force would shortly be distinguished for British sympathies and willing allegiance. But on the Plata, the creole

power is truly American; it is an Indian force governed by the convents of the missionaries, which has occasionally bid defiance to the Spanish military commanders, and has efficaciously resisted several attempts to turn the monasteries into barracks. Such a population, almost wholly strange to European connexions and cares, will always be held in subjection by too frail a tenure, not to be wisely exchanged for the ruder, but more plastic people of the Orinoko.

One mistake of the antient English administrations has been the not sending out their colonial governors sufficiently accompanied. The multiplication of places is not merely a convenience to the patrons; it is also a benefit to the subjects. Variety of ranks is but a distribution of political labor; it is favourable to subordination, to the collection of instruction, to the complete performance of duty, and to the advancement and recompense of merit. A splendid establishment, like all pomp, is adapted both to amuse and to overawe the multitude; and it tends to introduce a multiplicity of artificial wants, which furnish employ and nutriment to the different manufacturers of the mother country. The principal merchants and planters soon attempt to imitate the pageantry of the governor's entertainments. Utensils are sent for to London, like those on his table, and furniture, like that in his saloon. What he considers as accommodation becomes a general want.

The revenues necessary for an increase of splendor are not considerable; they might probably be found by selling the unappropriated lands to new colonists for a quit-rent, subject to be augmented a tenth every ten years, or in some other proportion; instead of selling them outright in lots, which require a sudden and inconvenient advance of capital for the fee-simple. Window-taxes, and other such assessments on fixed property, might, if necessary, be introduced. Money, which is to be expended on the spot, is seldom grudged by the people. But care should be taken that places, which require local knowlege, be given to local experience; and that those, who acquit themselves well in a province, should have a chance for advancement to metropolitan consequence. North America was lost, as much for want of opening a career of ascent to her native talent, as from any popular benefit that was to accrue by the assertion of independence.

It is fortunate when, by a rare chance, the governor brings with him a wife. Few married English women, of rank and character, are at any time induced to make their appearance in these distant edges of the world, to exhibit the fashions of domestic elegance, and teach the graces of moral dignity. The female servants and humble companions of such married ladies very commonly attach themselves independently and advantageously in the colonies; and produce, by their stay, a great

and lasting effect in civilizing the local manners, and transplanting those feminine arts of life, which our tawney wenches never saw exemplified. From imitating the dresses of the white ladies, they will proceed to imitate usages of a higher importance.

Several barristers, with the title of recorder, should be stationed in our principal towns. They might at first be eminently useful in compiling and translating the regulations of Dutch jurisprudence. Their next office would be to indicate and prepare the fittest way of assimilating the extant colonial laws with those of the British empire. Usage is of great value; it implies motion without friction. But in colonies, where an influx of additional inhabitants is continually going on; where the balance of Dutch population is declining, and the habit of connexion with Holland is interrupted; where incessant migrations produce, with greater speed than the ordinary flow of generations, a general renewal of the people; usage must undergo a rapid and considerable change, if it is to keep pace with the convenience of the stirring mass of society. In such circumstances, an obstinate retention of custom is itself a grievance; it occasions more friction than innovation would do. There is greater danger of complaint that the English laws are not introduced fast enough; than that the old landmarks are ploughed up too hastily. The more of legality and the less of usurpation there is in the introduction of new insti-

tutions the better. Trial by jury, and an elective constitution of the provincial administrations, are the fundamental blessings, which British conquest every where should aspire to bequeath. There are several minor changes in legislation, which resident lawyers would teach us to obtain at home. Unless the evil of laws is observed by professional men; the form of remedy can seldom be devised* which will give least trouble, and amalga-

* By the peace of Amiens it was covenanted that every British subject having concerns in any of the countries ceded to other powers, should have three years allowed to settle them; after which time, if they remained, they were to be considered as subjects of that power possessing the country. But immediately after the arrival of the Batavian government's forces, the governor issued peremptory proclamations, calling on every inhabitant to take the oath of allegiance to the new government. As the subjects of Great Britain held back, proclamation after proclamation was published, calling on them to take the oath of allegiance, threatening them in case of non compliance, with banishment from the colony.

Serious consequences certainly appeared about to be the result of this unprecedented demand of the governor's, and several petitions were addressed to him from different parts of his government, signed by the first and most respectable inhabitants, shewing how peculiarly they were situated as British subjects, having three years allowed them by the treaty of peace to settle their affairs, and praying his proclamations might be withdrawn, and that they might be allowed to take advantage of the clause in their favor. These applications were of no avail whatever. Meertens ordered his secretary not to receive any more of the petitions, and gave no other answer to those he had received, than by issuing another mandate to the same effect as the former ones. The conse-

mate best with existing statutes. The intricacy of the British custom-house regulations is often injurious to trade; in nothing

quence was, that those subjects of Great Britain who would not take the oath, were shipped from the colony like so many criminals.

Another class of men, whose particular situations as ship-owners precluded them from taking the oath, waited on the governor, and pointed out to him different abstracts in our navigation acts which prevented them from complying with his proclamations. The principal ones of which were as follows, as these facts are not generally known, I have transcribed them.

In an act for the farther increase and encouragement of shipping and navigation, 26 Geo. 3d, c. 60, and in sec. 8th, 9th, and 10th, will be found the following strictures:

BRITISH SUBJECTS RESIDENT ABROAD.

"8th.—That no subject of his majesty, whose residence is any foreign country, shall be entitled, during the time he shall continue to reside, to be whole or part owner of any British ship or vessel required to be registered by this act, unles he be a member of some British factory, or agent for, or partner in, any house or copartnership carrying on trade in Great Britain or Ireland.

"9th and 10th.—OATH TO BE TAKEN BEFORE REGISTRY.

"The oath, directed, by the 7 and 8 Will. 3, to be taken on registering the ships and vessels therein described, is hereby repealed. But no registry shall be made or certificate granted *until the following oath be taken and subscribed* before the persons herein before authorized to make such registry, and grant such certificate, by the owner of such ship or vessel, if the same belong to one person only; or in case there shall be two joint owners, then by both of them, if both be resident within twenty miles of the port where such registry

more remarkably than in the article of coffee, which is burdened with expense, and injured in quality, by the processes adopted for securing the revenue.

is required, or by one of such owners, if both be resident at a greater distance, or if the number of such owners should exceed two, then by the greater number of them, if the greater number shall be resident within twenty miles of such port, not exceeding three of such owners, if all shall be resident at a greater distance.

(THE OATH.)

"I, A. B. of *(place of residence and occupation)* do make oath, that the ship or vessel *(name)* of *(place or port belonging)* whereof —— is at present master, being *(kind of built, burthen, &c.)* was *(when and where built, or, if prize, capture, and condemnation)* and that I, the said A. B. *(and the owners names, if any, place of residence, occupation, &c. or, if member of, and resident in, any factory in foreign parts, or in any foreign town, or city, being an agent for, or partner in any houose or copartnership, actually carrying on trade in Great Britain or Ireland, the name of such factory in foreign parts, or in any foreign town, or city, and the names of such house and copartnership)* am *(or are)* sole owner *(or owners)* of the said vessel, and that no other person or persons hath or have any right, title, interest, share, or property, therein or thereto; and that I, the said A. B. *(and the said other owners, if any)* am *(or are)* truly *bonâ fide*, a subject *(or subjects)* of Great Britain, and that I, the said A. B. have not *(nor have any of the other owners)* taken the oath of allegiance to any foreign state whatever, or that since my *(or their)* taking the oath of allegiance to *(naming the foreign states respectively to which he or any of the said owners shall have taken the same)* and prior to the passing of an act in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of king George the Third, entitled *an act for the farther increase and encouragement of shipping and navigation*, I have *(or*

Medical men, educated in Europe, are not rare in the colonies, especially surgeons, many of whom were formerly attached to regiments, or employed on board men of war, and obtained leave to remain. They make a fixed income, by farming the health of the slaves on contiguous plantations, at so much a head. By their free patients they are handsomely fee'd. Physicians are much less common; a few who had fixed at home in a neighbourhood too crouded with competition, or who, for professional reasons, have thought a hot climate necessary to their own health, have come out; but the number is inconsiderable. A governor ought, however, by

he or they hath or have) become a subject *(or subjects)* of Great Britain, *(either by his majesty's letters patent as a denizen or denizens, or naturalized by act of parliament, as the case may be, naming the dates of the letters of denization, or the acts or acts of parliament for naturalization respectively)* or *(as the case may be)* I have *(or he or they hath or have)* become a denizen *(or denizens, or naturalized subject or subjects, as the case may be)* of Great Britain, by his majesty's letters patent, or by an act of parliament passed since the first day of January, one thousand, seven hundred, and eighty-six, *(naming the time when such letters have been granted respectively)* and that no foreigner, directly or indirectly, hath any share, or part, or interest, in the said ship or vessel."

Neither the three years allowed by the treaty of Amiens, nor our navigation laws, had any effect on his excellency, he remained firm to the purport of his proclamations, and even refused several requests which were made him of being allowed to remaining in the colony a few months on courtesy, as taking the oath of allegiance was incompatible with their situations as ship owners.

no means to omit including some medical men in his houshold establishment.

But the most desirable service which a governor could render to this country, would be to carry out an assortment of philosophers, for the purpose of surveying it scientifically. It may sometimes happen that a single traveller, (the Mr. Barrow, who visited the Cape, is an instance,) combines in his own person the various requisites for an adequate survey, and is at once the mathematician, the naturalist, and the statesman. But in general a subdivision and distribution of labor is requisite, where comprehensive information is coveted. In order to meet the risks of climate, and to obviate the great loss of knowlege which ensues, if a man of science, while he is visiting an unfrequented part of the earth, perishes of disease, or accident; it is desirable to send out a company of learned travellers, four or five in conjunction, with a party of Indians to carry their baggage. To one or two might be intrusted the task of mathematical survey, and of mapping the country; and on others might devolve the collection of facts relative to the natural history, the zoology, botany, and mineralogy of the district. The civil condition of the human population is better learnt by residence than by thorough-fare. Such a knot of young men of science would find considerable amusement in the enterprize itself; and would return able to satisfy a great deal of European curiosity about the region visited.

The cost of such an expedition would be amply repaid by the knowlege which the statesman would gain, and the reputation for good-will which would result. It cannot be that this country should want to import lime from Bristol; but its mountains are yet unexplored.

Discoveries of what can be rendered useful, avail little without the human hands that are to turn the gifts of nature to a profit. The accounts given of the Chinese, and the astonishing rapidity with which they have got up in Pulo-penang, all the parts of a complex and civilized society under British laws, and in a climate corresponding with that of Guyana, render it highly probable that Chinese colonists would form the most valuable accession to our present stock of labourers, which could be introduced. They have those habits of body, which can bear the exertions of industry between the tropics, and they have those habits of artificial society, which fit them for a variety of labors to which rude savages cannot be brought to attend. Above all, they have a rational foresight, and may be intrusted with the care of their own maintenance, without danger of that ruinous improvidence, that careless alternation of intemperance and sloth, that besets the African negro, who is his own master. It is said that the Chinese will stay, but never settle, in a strange land, and that when they have earned a little money, they go home to live upon it; but if they should not generally prove to be settlers, their labor

will still have prepared fields and created houses for the use of other successors, and they will become the teachers of a multiplicity of those arts and habits, which a long experience of hot climates has naturalized among the orientals. Guyana is adapted to become the China of the West, and may best be instructed by the nation, which ought especially to be its model.

FINIS.

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APPENDIX.

The following is the official statement alluded to at p. 79, of ships cleared from the ports of Essequebo and Demerary, for Europe, from 1745 to 1785, with the quantity of produce.

VESSELS CLEARED FOR ZEALAND FROM 1745 TO 1770.

Years.	Ships	Hogsbds. Sugar.	Tierces Co ee.	Bags Coffee.	Bales Cotton	Years.	Ships	Hogsbds. Sugar.	Tierces Coffee.	Bags Coffee.	Bales Cotton	Years.	Ships	Hogsheads Sugar.	Tierces Coffee.	Bags Coffee.	Bales Cotton.
1745	2	1219				1754	2	285			1	1763	8	2919¾	19	664	4
1746	2	1342½		1		1755						1764	8	2956½	31	211	2
1747	2	559½				1756	3	1918½	8		3	1765	8	3678½	56	881	18
1748	4	2292				1757	3	1594				1766	9	4120	37	2532	101
1749	8	3579½		1		1758	2	859½				1767	10	4745¼	72	2748	84
1750	5	2529		1		1759						1768	7	2896½	166	2510	66
1751	4	1445		2	4	1760	7	878	45		28	1769	9	3530½	491	2715	312
1752	6	2606½		1	1	1761	6	1177		274	50	1770	8	5795	499	1603	337
1753	1	447½				1762	10	2988¾	43	238	10		134	53363	1467	14381	1021
FOR HOLLAND.						FOR ZEALAND.						TO HOLLAND & ZEALAND.					
1771	2	997	185	481	66	1771	11	2130	456	3057	96	1771	13	3127	641	3538	162
1772	3	942	374	844	86	1772	6	2396	176	3896	42	1772	9	3338	550	4740	128
1773	3	934	590	2976	134	1773	9	2841	411	5637	47	1773	12	3775	1001	8613	181
1774	7	1475½	1031	5320	247	1774	10	3750	296	9329	60	1774	17	5225½	1327	14649	307
1775	11	1078¾	2005	9360	125	1775	10	3858½	312	9730	64	1775	21	4937¼	2317	19090	189
1776	8	1498½	885	3998	581	1776	7	2467	196	6136	431	1776	15	3965½	1081	10134	1012
1777	10	1243½	1631	12631	803	1777	7	1899	235	7678	363	1777	17	3142½	1866	20309	1166
1778	12	2088	1592	14831	992	1778	15	4832½	247	17803	762	1778	27	6920½	1839	32634	1754
1779	14	2238	856	15371	1937	1779	10	3661½	71	9863	931	1779	24	5899¼	927	25234	2868
1780	9	1033	1155	13884	1229	1780	13	2967½	282	26139	1501	1780	22	4000½	1437	40023	2730
1781	2	177	353	3787	276	1781	5	1425½	107	6463	480	1781	7	1602½	460	10250	756
1784	13	1146	488	12280	848	1784	11	2834	215	15798	1035	1784	24	3980	703	28078	1883
1785	10	2951	440	9370	816	1785	5	2044½		3013	223	1785	15	4995½	440	12383	1039
	104	17802¼	11585	105133	8140		119	38106	3004	125542	6035		223	55909	14589	229675	14175
													134	53363	1467	14381	1021
													357	109272	16056	244056	15196

Total from 1745 to 1770.....

Grand total from 1745 to 1785 .....

N. B. There is no account of any ships loading in the years 1755 and 1759. In 1781 great part of the ships and produce of this year were captured by the British. In 1782 and 1783, the colonies were possessed by the French.

Details respecting the Slave-trade, in illustration of p. 117.

Sale of a cargo of Slaves from the Windward coast, made in May, 1801.

Purchasers	*Men.*	*Women.*	*Boys.*	*Girls.*	*Prices and Terms of Payment.*	*Total of each Lot.*
A	8	6	4	2	Averaged at 960 *f.* in bills at six months	19200
B	9	6	3	2	Do. in bills at nine months	19200
C	4	3	2	1	Do. in do. at six, nine, and twelve do. ..	9600
D	4	3	2	1	Do. in do. at do.	9600
E	4	3	2	1	Do. in do. at do.	9600
F	4	3	2	1	Do. in do. at do.	9600
G	5	1	3	1	Do. in do. at do.	9600
H	4	3	2	1	Do. in do. at nine and twelve months ..	9600
I			3		850 do. bills down	2550
K	2				1200	4250
		1			1000	
			1		850	
L			1	1	850	1700
M	1				1300	2450
	1				1150	
N				1	.....	750
O	3				1150	3450
P	6				1100	10500
		4			950	

Account of ships from Africa with cargoes of Slaves imported into the colonies of Essequebo and Demerary from 1745 *to* 1786.

From 1745 to 1748 there were none

1749 - - 1 ship

1750 to 1761 none

1762 - - 1

1763 - - - 1

In 1764 - - 1 ship
1765 none
From 1776 to 1786 there were 47

Making a total of 51 slave ships in forty-two years, averaging about one hundred and twenty slaves. There were certainly more embarked in Africa, but whether from bad treatment or misfortune, many of the vessels arrived with only sixty slaves on board, when it was a well known fact, they had shipped upwards of two hundred. Beside importations, there were seasoned people imported by the British settlers from the West-Indian islands, which are not noticed in this statement. When we reflect, that in 1786, there were not more than forty thousand negroes in the two colonies, and that seventy-five thousand had been imported in the last forty-two years, exclusive of those brought into the colonies previous to an office being established for entering the vessels at, and the negroes imported by the English settlers without taking into consideration the number of children which would naturally be born within that period, what an immense loss and dreadful sacrifice of lives appear to have taken place.

I can only account for it thus: negroes were sold in the years alluded to from twenty to forty pounds sterling, at fifteen months credit; from their bearing such a trifling value, I fear they were too frequently sacrificed by hard work, and ill treat-

ment, under an idea that twelve or eighteen months labor was sufficient to pay the first cost. It is an absolute fact, that the comfort and health of the negroes was never much considered, until their value, like that of a blood horse when put in competition with a cart horse, entitled them to better treatment, for fear they should die, as the loss would then be so much the greater.

Specimen of the negro English, or talkee-talkee, alluded to at p. 341, which is spoken by the creole ladies in preference to any other dialect.

Da wan tieri somma -	That is a free person
No mekie bawli bawli -	Don't make any noise
Den de mekie too mooso bawli bawli	They make too much noise
Mekie hesie - -	Make haste
Loeke boen - - -	Take care, or look good
Tantiere - - -	Stand still
Loeke deeja - - -	Look here
Piekienmoro - - -	A little more
Onofo - - -	Enough
Oe somma die da pree? -	Who's there?
Matie - - -	A friend
Da mie - - -	It's me
Da massa - - -	It's a gentleman
Da misse - -	It's a lady.

FINIS.

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